

JPRS-USS-91-005

6 March 1991



JPRS Report

Soviet Union

SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

No 12, December 1990

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[Selected translations from the Russian-language monthly journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA published in Moscow by the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Refer to the table of contents for a listing of any articles not translated]

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The Principle of Rationality in Modern Sociological Theory (Gnoseological and Culturological Bases)

915D0008A Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE
ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 12, Dec 90 (signed to
press 23 Oct 90) pp 3-15

[Article by Andrey Grigoryevich Zdravomyslov, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor and sector head at the Institute for Marxism-Leninism Under the CPSU Central Committee. He is a permanent contributor to our journal]

[Text] The choice of the given subject was caused by a desire to make a definite contribution to the problem posed as the basic one for the given symposium [at the World Sociological Congress]: to elucidate whether or not it is possible in modern sociology to have a certain commonness to ideas, terms and concepts, regardless of the fact that the discipline is divided into established areas. Each of the schools has its own traditions, its own system of argumentation and it has its own scientific authorities and, as the same time, its own approaches to resolving the problems of sociology. In bearing this in mind, it would be possible to show that even in those instances when common terms are employed by one or another school, the sense of these terms and concepts at times remains quite different.

At the same time, sociology—in its totality viewed as a certain social movement developing within very ambiguous limits—is a part of modern culture which is permeated with the idea of rationality. Rationality is not only a method for ordering knowledge within a given concept, not only a property of reason understanding the actual world; rationality is undoubtedly one of the underlying values of modern culture. We value a well-based method of argumentation and call it rational; we value the ability of a person to achieve the goals which he has set for himself and speak of him as an intelligent person; we voice approbation for that organization which is capable of development by overcoming inner conflicts. The idea of rationality, as was shown by M. Weber, is inherent to European culture of modern times. As is known, he gives a number of examples in the rationalization of human activity among which an important place is held, in one area, by bookkeeping practices and, in another, by the invention of the 12-tone music scale representing the basis of modern musical culture [1].

For this reason, when we speak about the **principle of rationality**, we have in mind in the given instance and in the given context not so much the inner aspect of organizing sociological knowledge as the external cultural value in relation to sociology and the basis of which is linked to man's ability to communicate [2]. Sociology, as an area of social knowledge, develops within the context of a certain cultural whole and, consequently,

precisely in this general cultural context the bases are established for mutual understanding. In other words, we understand one another not because we adhere to different views on various social processes and not because we proceed from different ideological orientations but because we live in a single cultural context in which the efforts of previous generations have created definite prerequisites for mutual understanding.

What has been said above has direct bearing upon the culturological bases for the principle of rationality. In essence, a recognition of the principle of rationality is identical to an assertion of the importance of scientific knowledge in contrast to the mythological and dogmatic, the pragmatic and aesthetic components of modern culture. If sociology claims the role of a science then it is completely natural that the rational construct of a system of arguments is of priority significance for it.

There is the different question of what is the value of a rationalistic system of arguments within the given area of knowledge, that is, within a certain area of sociology? How do a pluralism of methodological approaches and theoretical views and a longing for the truth correlate? This is the main question of an epistemological nature. The derivatives of this are the questions of the correlation of the scientific and value approaches, the relationship of the "reflection" and "constructing" of reality in sociological knowledge, the comparative significance of theoretical and empirical knowledge, the relationship of the theoretical system and sociological imagination, the role of special sociological theories and a number of other strictly methodological questions of modern sociological knowledge [3].

In examining this question, it is important to understand the inner structure of sociological knowledge itself. Within the Mannheim tradition, this question gains the form of a problem of the relationship of interests and ideology. The conclusion of the sociology of knowledge inclines to a thesis of the complete relativism of any theoretical constructs, as they express given interests which operate here as well.

A. Gouldner has proposed a broader approach. Its advantages, it seems to me, consist in the greater analyticalness and greater reliance on the data of the actual history of sociology. He establishes three groups of inner prerequisites of sociological knowledge which in one way or another operate on "sociological behavior": these are the ideological views or background assumptions which are assimilated and shaped in the process of socialization. These include the notions of the nature of social reality, the significance of society, man, history and culture. In this same row would be the notions of the sociologist concerning justice or injustice or more accurately a readiness to perceive this problem. The second group is the "sovereign views" or domain assumptions. These largely concern notions about the degree of human rationality, the predictability of man's behavior, the possibilities of his self-control and so forth. Finally, the third group of views is related to social feelings or social

sentiments based on personal experience of the sociologist. Here also would be the question of the nature of the sociologist's "personal reality" and its relation to social theory. The similarity of personal experience makes it possible to reach agreement on what is reality from the viewpoint of the collective. The very asserting of the "factuality" of various givens in science is, according to Gouldner, "the ascribing of high value to these givens." From this stem definite obligations for facts "must be considered." "Facts are not produced automatically by some indifferent research machine. The assertion of 'factuality' is an action which includes the discovery of partiality" [4].

The gnoseological bases of rationality are tied to the concept of the paradigm in scientific thinking [5]. One or another explanation makes sense and is "rational," if it is worked out within the confines of a certain paradigm which performs the role of a frame of reference within a set system of coordinates. Naturally, the paradigm can be very specific and then this is a special sociological theory (middle-range theories [in English]) which restricts itself to a comparatively narrow subject sphere. But this can also be an ideological [background] paradigm which includes the obvious or covert value views of the researcher.

In the process of cognition a sort of epistemological conflict can arise between various levels of rationality. A scientific method of resolving this conflict is provided by the research procedure, that is, by the proposing and verifying of hypotheses, by the assembly of data, by their discussion, and by the incorporation of new knowledge in the previously existing frame of reference.

In our view, a solution to the main epistemological question of the general importance of sociological knowledge is possible upon a basis of deepening the classic notion of the truth. The truth is not a set of facts, assertions or empirical data and at the same time is not a finite sum of theoretical postulates which tend to turn into an aggregate of dogmas. The truth is a process of the deepening of knowledge, a means for a more complete orientation in the world and a method of resolving those problems confronting modern culture. The truth is discursive, multifaceted, dialectical and concrete and it is closely tied to the communicative process, being a component part of it.

From here it follows that the rational aspect of sociology is closely interconnected with aesthetic, emotional, moral and personal aspects. Each component of sociological knowledge represents a value, as this is a step toward realization, analysis and rational solution of problems in the objective world and in the subjective reality of man himself. For precisely this reason an exchange of opinions at sociological congresses is not only an exchange of knowledge but also a thorough discussion of social problems on the way to approaching the truth as one of the universal values organizing scientific knowledge.

The culturological and epistemological bases of the principle of rationality, consequently, are reciprocally complementary, providing a deepening of mutual understanding.

In analyzing the interpretation of the principle of rationality in the history of sociological thought, it is essential to take a close look at how this problem was viewed by Marx several decades prior to Weber.

For Marx, rationality was a property of human activity and consisted primarily in his ability to set a goal for himself and choose definite means for achieving it. Only man was capable of following a plan in his activity. There are the well-known words of Marx: "A spider performs operations reminiscent of the operations of a weaver and the bee by making his wax cells can put in disgrace certain human architects. But the poorest architect differs from the best bee from the very outset in the fact that prior to building a cell out of wax he has already built it in his head. At the end of the labor process, a result is obtained which at the outset of this process already existed in the man's notion, that is, ideally" [6].

Thus, rationality—according to Marx—was something more fundamental than the property of a certain type of culture. This was a property of all activity of mankind.

Belief in the power of human reason is a continuation of the humanistic and enlightenment tradition adopted by Marxism. This conviction was the source of the social optimism which to a significant degree has been undermined by the misanthropic practices of the 20th Century. The two world wars, the rise of totalitarian regimes, the development of weapons of mass destruction, the threat of ecological disaster, the outbursts of nationalistic feelings and emotions, the mutual alienation of peoples and the stalemated conflicts in politics—all this experience rather repudiates than confirms the idea of rationality. All these events and facts spread doubt on the principle of rationality and they seemingly demonstrate the limited nature of the abilities of reason as the consequences of rationally based actions contradict the initial bases, rationality is turned into its opposite, into irrationality due to the fact that in each concrete historical act and event there is an intertwining of opposing aspirations and interests.

As is known, Marx linked accident and unpredictability in the development of events to the prevalence of private interests and the alienation of man from the results of his labor, from the political process and from the world of spiritual values. For him socialism was the resolution of the contradiction between the rational and the spontaneous in the organization of social relations. From his viewpoint, socialism created the prerequisites for eliminating alienation in all areas of human activity.

For this reason Marx gave such enormous importance to science and to the scientific perception of the world. In

the initial version of "Capital," he introduced the category of the **universal intellect**, due to which universal social knowledge (wissen) is turned into **an immediate productive force** (that is, a force mediated by production relations?) and which was to exercise control over the conditions of the social process of life itself. Due to universal intellect, the social productive forces should become immediate organs of social practice and a real vital process.

Certainly Marx left incomplete such questions as the mechanism of exercising social control over the conditions of the process of life or the method of the functioning of the universal intellect and the limits of its intervention into various spheres of economic, social and spiritual life. At the same time, he assumed that the real socialization of production would create the conditions for an increase in free time and for the complete development of the individual on the basis of overcoming the old forms of the division of labor.

Marx left the actual solution to these problems to the discretion of future generations, warning about the particular danger of undeveloped forms of communism operating as **universal private property**. "Such 'communism,' in denying the **individuality** of man everywhere, is merely a consistent expression of private property.... Universal and organized as power, **envy** represents a covert form which recognizes **money grubbing**...any private property as such feels—at least in relation to the **richer private property**—envy and a thirst for leveling, so that these latter comprise even the essence of competition. Primitive communism is merely the conclusion of this envy and this leveling which derives from the notion of a certain minimum. It has a **limited** measure. That such abolishing of private property is in no way the true appropriation of this property can be seen precisely from the abstract negation of the entire world of culture and civilization, from the return to the **unnatural** simplicity of the **poor**, coarse man without needs who not only has not risen above the level of private property but has not even grown to it.

"For such communism, the community is merely a community of **labor** and an equality of **wages** paid by community capital, by the **community** as a universal capitalist [7].

The quoted statements confirm the prognostic force of nondogmatic Marxism. In actuality, the early forms of socialism were largely concerned with the ideas of universal equality. Justice came to be interpreted as the equality of abilities. Collectiveness was seen as the destruction of the abilities of the individual and nonrecognition of the uniqueness of the individual and its accomplishments. Talent was unprotected before the mass nature of mediocrity and envy. This entire **primitive rationalism** which had not reached the civilized forms of human intercourse penetrated the system of power relations, that is, actual political life.

Seen from this viewpoint Weber's notion of a criticism of bureaucracy assumes new meaning. Weber, as is known, developed the thesis of the paradox of rationality. In his opinion the growth of rationality in all spheres of social life has resulted not in the liberation of man but rather in his increased dependence upon the rules and standards of bureaucratized structures and administration. A rationally organized society is turned for the individual into the famous "iron cage." Hence, his skeptical attitude toward socialism which would mean the triumph of the bureaucracy and which was to be a prediction not devoid of sense.

An indisputable step forward was the differentiation by Weber of several forms of rationality—formal and substantial or, on a different basis, goal and value rationality (Zweck und Wert-Rationalität). From here it was possible to move fully to one of the underlying ideas of modern sociology, the idea of a value pluralism and correspondingly a pluralism of rationalities.

And here again arose the old philosophical problem concerning the relationship of the universal and the particular in cognition, on the universality of truth as such as the achieving of an "universal intellect" and the multiplicity of particular truths in science, in cognition and in the interpretation of various facts.

In any event, it seems to us that the further step in working out a concept of rationality undertaken by J. Habermas was nothing more than an attempt to view precisely this problem in new material as provided by social science and practice in the second half of the 20th Century. In basing himself on M. Weber, J. Habermas in his fundamental work "The Theory of Communicative Action" (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1984) establishes three groups of rationality: cognitive-instrumental, moral-practical and aesthetic-practical. Each of these comprises its own separate value world based upon the intersection of basic attitudes toward the corresponding spheres of reality—objective and subjective.

The rationalization of modern society consists in a combining of ideas and interests related to these groups of rationality and in the embodiment of them in the corresponding orders of life.

In contrast to Weber, Habermas assumes that the misfortunes of the modern world have their roots not in rationalization as such rather they are caused by the fact that there has not been the **balanced institutionalization of all measurements of reason** discovered by the modern understanding of the world [8].

For the modern understanding of the world there is the very important process of the **decentralization of consciousness** which is characterized by a differentiation of ideologies. The discoveries of anthropology, the sphere of the subconscious, the diversity of political orientations and forms of economic behavior—all of this is the empirical basis for the voiced idea. Again, the question

arises with which we began our discussion: In what manner is it possible to recognize truthfulness or the general importance of various judgments and views? Is it possible, as previously, to adhere to the viewpoint that one philosophical school, one of the schools of sociological thought is ultimately more correct, more universal and to a larger degree incorporates the remaining viewpoints and positions? It seems to us that the author of the "Theory of Communicative Action" answers this question negatively. The very process of communication (communicative action) becomes a mechanism for the disclosing of a consensus and the overcoming of differences.

This is an expression of the new practical relations in reality itself and, undoubtedly, a theoretical basis for new political thinking. It is important for people to preserve life and this is the priority universal value. But to realize this in a modern pluralistic world depends upon the ability for contact between individuals who are separated from one another by state, national, class, religious and ideological barriers. As long as these groups maintain the ability to have contact with others there is hope for the future. And truth in the highest meaning of the word, like other universal value such as the good, the beautiful, justice and liberty is alive as long as there is hope.

The process of intercultural communication is, thus, an expression of the universal interest of mankind. This is a real basis for common human interests. This process can be given different names: the development of symbolic or cultural interaction (from the standpoint of symbolic interactionism); the institutionalization of broader (generalized) ideas and interests (from the position of the theory of social action à la Parsons); the creation of new forms of practice (from the standpoint of classic Marxism); the rise of collective forms of consciousness which cross the barriers of local communities (from the position of the sociological concept of Durkheim). But in all these instances the emphasis should be put on collaboration, co-creativity, and the joint solving of the practical problems of social life.

A further analysis of the principle of rationality in sociological theory assumes, in our view, the isolating of the forms of irrationality which are specific to modern society and which have been less firmly woven into the way of life than the forms of rationality.

E. Hoffman, for example, establishes three main types of irrationality: the irrationality of market relations, bureaucratic irrationality and the irrationality of remuneration. A. Gouldner has sketched in a vivid portrait of the might of the irrational principle in modern daily life: "Modern pop art proclaims the impossibility of drawing a demarcation line between art and advertising just as dramaturgy (of Hoffman) finds it difficult in making a distinction between 'real life' and the theater. The mafia become businessmen and the police at times can only be

distinguished from the bandits by their uniform. Differences between heterosexuality and homosexuality are seen by some as no more important than differences between the right-handed and left-handed. A television program becomes a definition of reality. The antihero becomes the hero. The established hierarchy of values has been shaken to its base and the sacred and the secular have been mixed in a grotesque unity. The new middle class endeavors to conform to arbitrary standards of utility and morality in abandoning both and determining their future through aesthetic standards and through the appearance of things" [9].

This encapsulates the essential features of the crisis situation characteristic of modern mass culture. There has been an eroding of the criteria for the governing of behavior by values and a loss of the humanistic prospects of personal development. A much greater role has been assumed by motivational complexes based upon momentary interests and on a desire for prestige and status. Here the external structures of these motivational complexes, the sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction are more or less similar in situations which are completely opposite in their social sense and content.

The crisis in motivation means a deepening of alienation. This is a common problem in the modern world and the resolution to it entails reaching new levels of rationality. Man can surmount alienation by becoming acquainted with culture, developing a system of human contacts and acquiring the ability to think rationally and constructively overcome contradictions and problems.

An important source for extending our notions on the investigated question is a study of crisis situations in political and spiritual life and through which many countries and peoples are currently passing.

One such crisis occurred in the socialist countries in 1968. This was apparent in the well-known Czechoslovak events which can be analyzed from the viewpoint of a **conflict of two systems of rationality**. The system of bureaucratized relations collided with the demand for renewing socialism and the power of the bureaucracy in the given instance was victorious but this victory turned into a defeat more than 20 years later.

It is interesting to trace the basic phases of this conflict. It began in June 1967 at the Fifth Congress of Czechoslovak Writers. It can be said that at this stage the conflict had a local nature and was a clash of interests between definite groups of the creative intelligentsia and the political regime. The development of this conflict led to a crisis of political power and a change of government. The wave of democratization which followed after the removal of A. Novotny led to a deepening of the conflict as it was essential to restore the historical truth on the victims of the previous system. It was precisely at this point that the interests of other countries were affected.

The Brezhnev leadership set out to curtail the democratization. The processes of renewal did not occur synchronously as the upsurge of democratization in Czechoslovakia coincided with the curtailment of this process in the Soviet Union and the other Eastern European countries. At the same time, Czechoslovakia had worked out an Action Program (April 1968) and this was perceived as an assault against the foundations of the established way of thinking.

Here the old thinking resorted to the notion of the exacerbation of the ideological struggle on the international level.

The new phase of the conflict was marked by the Warsaw Letter of the Supreme Leadership of the Five Countries Sent to the Czechoslovak Leadership. The main difference was the following. The Czechoslovak leadership (A. Dubcek, O. Sik and others) felt that it could control the situation with its own forces. They had a rationally based plan of actions expressed in such political documents as the "Action Program" and the "Response of the CPCZ [Communist Party of Czechoslovakia] leadership to the 'Letter of Five'." In organizational terms the plan was being reinforced by the preparations for the 14th CPCZ Congress. The leaders of the remaining countries felt that the domestic conflict in Czechoslovakia could not be resolved by the internal forces of the CPCZ.

They perceived the desire to renew socialism as a retreat from the socialist choice; for renewal itself meant a threat to their established interests. Like Louis XIV who asserted "l'etat c'est moi," the leaders of the five socialist states proceeded from the premise that "socialism is us" and acted in accord with this initial premise of their "system of rationality."

After the Warsaw Letter and the reply to it the course of events was predetermined. The idea of "limited sovereignty" had been formulated in this letter and the further development of events involved the legitimization of the adopted decision. For this they employed an "appeal" from the police co-workers and this, in turn, gave rise to the document of "2,000 Words" which originated from the radical intelligentsia.

At this phase of the conflict, it assumed an international character, since the notion of antisocialist forces and an international conspiracy against socialism in the CSSR went into operation. There was a sharp polarizing between the conflicting sides and the Dubcek leadership was in a false position as it assumed that it could control events while at the same time the events were out of control. The authority of this leadership was in dispute as it was caught between two forces which actually opposed one another from the viewpoint of the different approaches to rationality.

The last stage in the conflict involved the use of force and subsequent actions aimed at preventing the use of

counterforce. This succeeded due to the specially elaborated political mechanisms, one of which consisted in an artificial delay in the process of restoring the former regime.

The lessons of the Czechoslovak crisis were to a certain degree considered in the course of working out the overall view of perestroika in the Soviet Union. The main conclusion of a theoretical order was that the renewal of the system could not be successful if it did not touch upon the political center of the former system and if the required level of synchronicity was not provided between the domestic and foreign political processes.

In the course of perestroika, there have also been specific crisis points which can be viewed as clashes between the various forms of rationality.

The newly disclosed historical facts concerning the scale of the Stalinist repressions, their focus and succession could not logically be reconciled with the former view of Soviet society. In the mass mind there was a shattering of the established notions of socialism, justice and progress, on the relations of the state and society, on the political realities and ultimate moral values, including notions of good and evil. The former interpretation of party history was to undergo a complete review. It became clear that all the antiparty groupings, the Trotskiyite-Zinovievite blocs and the leftist opportunists—all of this did not exist. All of this was a nightmare invention of Stalin and a product of the creativity of the repressive apparatus which acted on behalf of the socialist idea, on behalf of Marxism and on behalf of Lenin. Under these conditions, the very concept of the truth was shaken. Everything became possible and the moral and ideological limiters ceased to operate. The Stalinist terror surfaced in the memory of the people descending with all its weight on mass consciousness. The unmasking of Stalinism very quickly became the dominant theme in journalism, literature and cinematography. It was essential to pass through this in order to enter new waters. But this harsh testing was beyond many. The irrationality of the past had eroded the bases of rational thinking and had overturned established logical ties. The prevailing mood was a desire for revenge against the past for even those who were not immediate victims of the repressions had a bill to present. In one way or another, the deception of Stalinism involved everyone.

Naturally, not merely a critical note but also a destructive one began to prevail in public attitudes. It was very easy to deduce Stalinist terror from the Marxian notion of the inevitability of revolutionary violence. With the aid of several analogies they began to show the iron linkage between Stalinism and the "Red Terror" from the times of the Civil War. Articles appeared which doubted the value of socialism and the idea was voiced of the senselessness of the October Revolution. Even the monarchical regime of Nicholas II was presented in a rosy light.

Such a turn in the understanding of events and attitudes gave rise to a counterreaction. A certain portion of the party and state apparatus was so frightened by this destructive wave that it began to call for strong orders of the Stalinist sort. In March 1988, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA published the article of Nina Andreyeva "I Cannot Give Up My Principles," and this was to serve as an ideological guideline for this turn in attitude. The article was reprinted by certain other press organs. The apparatus had finally seemingly found a point of support. Clearly, if this line prevailed they perestroika would be stopped or halted for a long time. Over the period of a month the party organizations were in a state of perplexity: whom to follow—Gorbachev or SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA? Many hurried to make a choice. And then on 5 April, an editorial appeared in PRAVDA and in which in strong terms the party stated its loyalty to the course of perestroika and the antiperestroika nature of the designated article. Thus, the crisis was overcome but the cause of perestroika would have gone even better if the organizational and ideological mechanism for the appearance of the article by N. Andreyeva had been exposed. Unfortunately, the perestroika wing did not have enough forces to carry this matter out to a completion.

The Soviet historian R.A. Medvedev, in speaking at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, showed that the oscillations in the ideological course were caused by the fact that on the Politburo there was not a full unanimity of views on the process of perestroika and primarily the ideological process under the conditions of perestroika. This circumstance was felt primarily during those brief periods when Gorbachev for various reasons was out of Moscow. Thus, in December 1987, when Gorbachev had flown off to Washington to sign the Soviet-American Treaty, "in our ideological work," said Medvedev, "strange things again began happening. One member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee assembled representatives of the mass information media and gave them some instructions and a week later another member of the Politburo assembled the representatives of the mass information media and gave them directly opposite instructions. We all observed this in the press and we all saw this.... In March, Comrade Gorbachev flew to Yugoslavia and Comrade Yakovlev to Mongolia, and for about a week again the policy of our party and government in both the ideological and all other areas changed. It was not the article of Nina Andreyeva that appeared but rather the policy of Nina Andreyeva which introduced a split and doubts in all the ideological services and among the intelligentsia of our nation. It took the return of Comrade Gorbachev from Yugoslavia and Comrade Yakovlev from Mongolia and it required rather major and harsh as well as dramatic meetings for the policy of perestroika to finally prevail" [10].

A study of the development of crisis situations shows that these developed out of the confrontation of different systems of rationality, each of which has its own logic of

existence. But the stating of this fact does not make it possible as yet to disclose the reasons of the spiritual and political crisis and understand how the different systems of rationality correspond to the real prospects of social development. The essence of the question is that the regime of personal power established by Stalin in the course of the political struggle toward the end of the 1930s on the ideological level was based on a system of **pseudorational thinking** and within which all the truths of Marxist theory acquired the opposite sign of their initial meaning. R. Tucker feels that the cornerstone of this system of pseudorationality was the distorting of the Marxist theory of the state by Stalin. We feel that much more important was the normativistic approach to the very theory of socialism and to the question of the relationship between theory and practice. Inculcated constantly in the mass mind was the notion that in essence there was no difference between what should be and reality: what should be corresponded to the ideal and this supposedly already exists in fact. Here also was the essence of the pseudorationalistic mystification which rested on thick strata of charismatic thinking in the popular mind, on the one hand, and on the complete ideologization of theoretical consciousness, on the other.¹ Dogmatized notions of socialism became a part of the administrative-command system. Moreover, they became the most important tool of social control incorporated into this system and a means for establishing uniformity in the views and in the manner of behavior of the people.

Another method for the survival of irrationality was in the **build-up of erroneous decisions** in various areas of social action. In and of itself the notion of an error is based on a recognition of the possibility of a rational assessment of an action. An error is also a deviation from the rationally based system of actions. For this reason, the earlier it is recognized and analyzed and the more profoundly the analysis of this error is made, the greater the opportunity for restoring the line of action with the general plan, with the rationally based principles of political behavior. But this requires political boldness and courage. If a politician does not possess these qualities, then he will try to interpret an erroneous action as an adequate one by adjusting his arguments and the unnoticed incorporation of the error in the accepted system of rationality. This gives rise to the possibility of making a new error in the subsequent choices of action (choices in the way of actions [in English]). The build-up of errors destroys the system of rationality and engenders inconsistency and a logical contradictoriness of actions as well as unreliability in partnership relations on the international scene. This in essence was the Brezhnev line of behavior and this was characterized, on the one hand, by the Helsinki Treaty (1976) and by the series of events assessed now with the opposite sign, including the introduction of troops into Afghanistan in 1979.

A third variation of irrationality is the rise of a stalemate situation as a result of the clash of two systems of rationality. This was basically the situation in international relations on the questions of disarmament. An

analogous situation existed in the Transcaucasus region of the USSR over the conflict in Nagornyy Karabakh. In such situations an enormous role is played by the ideologization of the conflict by forming a general image of the enemy. Because of this the conflict becomes total permeating all aspects of the life of each conflicting side. Correspondingly, the ways for resolving such conflicts involve, in the first place, the segmentation of the problem itself or the dividing of it into parts; secondly, the method of involving each of the parties in the communicative process and, thirdly, with a value generalization of the problem on a higher level of value and normative significance.

A value conflict assumes the explication of value orientations, their clarification and the elaboration of a reasoned attitude toward the value. This is the most important aspect of the rationalization process. A researcher cannot help but have sympathies and preferences or be free of the values of the culture within which he was formed. But the degree of clarity of these values can vary for him. Values can operate not only on a rational level but also in the sphere of the subconscious. For this reason, contacts are so important between scientists belonging to various schools and currents and adhering to different value orientations. And although they may differently interpret the philosophical question of the truth or the attitude of thinking toward reality, they all will be united by a desire for the truth and a respect for the very process of cognition, for discursive thinking and scientific communication. Precisely this is the common principle which unites the sociologists of various schools.

Let us now formulate certain basic conclusions from all that has been said above.

Sociology in the state which it finds itself presently needs a new level of rationality and this level should be based both on the achievements of all the schools of sociological thought which up to now have existed separately as well as on an analysis of contemporary experience which is quite specific for today. The epistemological aspect of the problem consists precisely in an "analysis," that is, in a rationalization of the process which is occurring within sociology. In solving this problem we cannot avoid our own sort of vicious circle: in order to change the content of sociology we must achieve a new level in its rationalization. But for achieving this task we must change the interpretation of the very subject of sociology and reorient its content.

This vicious circle can be broken only under the condition that rationality will be viewed as a common value of modern culture. In the history of sociological thought, rationality has been viewed not on the level of opposition but rather on a level of an addition to and a more profound understanding of the problem. For precisely

this reason the concept of rationality can be employed as one of the starting points in constructing a modern sociological theory.

Modern life in its daily existence is characterized by a conflict of values to a much larger degree than was the case previously. Because of this we have taken up an analysis of certain conflict situations which are of practical, political significance. In the course of analyzing these situations, we have isolated such concepts as primitive rationality, pseudorationality, limited rationality and irrationality. Another aspect of the problem is a political rationalization of the actually developing democratic process, in economic rationalization and in social and cultural progress. On the societal level, all of this means the process of modernization.

A more profound understanding of the problem assumes an analysis of the relationships and linkages between values (including ideas) and the political and economic interests of the persons actively involved in the modernization process. The very complex structure of needs, interests and values confronts us on this new level of research activity. The basic trend in the current stage of human history is the increasing importance of generalized values, common needs and reciprocal interests. This is the dominant principle of both modernization as well as for enriching the motivational structures of human conduct and activity.

Footnote

1. The idea of socialism became evermore closely intertwined with the image of the authoritarian command-bureaucratic administrative idea.

Another consequence of this process was the ever-greater gap between the theory of Marxism and reality, between the humanistic ideals and practice. The bureaucratic, rigidly centralized economic and political system operated according to its own laws. But theory had to perform a distorted ideological function, create an illusion of the "correctness" of these actions and justify practice, in sketching in social consciousness a complete model of socialism which supposedly corresponded to the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

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General and Particular in World Development Models (Political and Sociological Aspects)

915D0008B Moscow SOTSIOLGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 12, Dec 90 (signed to press 23 Oct 90) pp 15-22

[Article by Boris Andreyevich Grushin, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor and leader of the Service for the Study of Public Opinion VP. He is the author of the works "Mneniya o mire i mir mneniy" [Opinions About the World and the World of Opinions] (1967), "Massovaya informatsiya v sovetskom promyshlennom gorode" [Mass Information in a Soviet Industrial City] (1980) and "Massovoye soznaniye" [Mass Consciousness] (1987) and others. He has appeared repeatedly in our journal. The article is a paper given at the Madrid World Sociological Congress]

[Text] I would like to begin the conversation with three statements which, as it will appear, set down perfectly obvious facts and for this reason would not evoke any disputes.

The first of these is: the world of man bounded by the earth and called mankind as a whole by the end of the 20th Century has undergone a **principled, qualitative change** in the sense that in the world there remains not a single region, not a single people or tribe which to one degree or another has not been involved in the single process of development common to all. Closed off over the centuries in their territorial, ethnic, social or ideological shell, completely separated by numerous barriers and compartments and for this reason at times even yesterday possibly not even suspecting the existence of one another, the representatives of the various detachments of Homo sapiens finally have begun to feel their interrelationship and interdependence and have begun to be aware of themselves as a part of a certain broad

whole, the so-called world civilization, and not only to feel and recognize but also to behave in a suitable manner and demonstrate more or less adequate conduct as members of a single human community.

The second and equally indisputable aspect is that the designated change naturally has been noticed by the representatives of all types of activity in the spiritual sphere including politicians, scientists, journalists, theologians and others, and up to the present has gained rather **widespread depiction** in the political, scientific, ideological and other texts. Here the social thinkers in various areas and levels, as might be expected (bearing in mind the historical significance of the recorded fact) have not limited themselves to individual, particular theoretical or "technological" constructs on this question but have been inspired to propose new paradigms for explaining and describing the changing world, and to design previously inconceivable global programs for its further development. In social philosophy and theoretical sociology, as is clearly evident from the main subject and basic portion of the program of the 12th World Sociological Congress being held in July of this year, the designated phenomenon began to be described in terms of divergence and convergence, differentiation and integration of diverse processes occurring in different parts of the world. In the sphere of international relations, foreign and domestic policy its analysis has led to the rise and triumphant spread in many countries of the notion of the so-called new political thinking.

Finally, among the indisputable facts one can put the **general success** of the proposed paradigms and programs and their impressive productivity in the question of the practical spiritual assimilation of the new sociopolitical reality in the world. The conceptual apparatus of the theory of convergence promises to deepen and concretize many notions concerning the essential nature of Homo sapiens and on the developmental prospects for the common human variable in the consciousness and behavior of the various "species" of intelligent man. On the basis of the new political thinking within a few years it has been possible to sharply lessen international tension, to reduce the arms race, to begin implementing the conversion program and so forth.

At the same time, with all the extraordinary importance of the listed points they seemingly would completely deplete the existing consensus in the examined subject area and beyond their limits there open up infinite fields of possible and necessary debates both in the area of the theoretical interpretations of many very important aspects of the discussed phenomenon as well as in the area of various practical steps being undertaken on the basis of its analysis. In this context I would like to touch on three unsolved problems which seem particularly important:

1. What is the actual nature of the observed processes of the interaction and merging of states and peoples and which differ in various sociocultural structures?

2. How far have these processes gone and how far do they promise to go in the near future?

3. What are the main, key directions of their historical development?

Here in all instances it will be an issue of substantial discrepancies in views of the subject as shared by political practice, on the one hand, and social theory, on the other.

In bearing in mind the problem involved in defining the very nature of the examined processes, politicians working within the concept of the new political thinking, are insisting, as is known, on two things: in the first place, that these processes are **the product of recent history**, a phenomenon of the second half and even the last third of the concluding century; secondly, that the main base for their genesis and development is the **complex of global problems** arising in the world and involving the interests of all mankind.

The line of thought demonstrated by them is exceptionally clear and simple:

1) As a result of the previous centuries-long development of human civilization, in the world there have appeared not only numerous beneficial fruits of the latter but also numerous costs such as the danger of a world nuclear disaster which threatens the very existence of *Homo sapiens*; the substantial disruptions in the "man—nature" system leading, in particular, to the warming of the climate, ozone holes and acid rains, to the destruction of fertile soils, the loss of forests and bodies of water, the plant and animal world; the deterioration of the human habitat which is assuming evermore catastrophic dimensions and linked to radioactive, chemical and other contamination of the air, drinking water and food products; the prospect which can be assessed in precise figures of a shortage of many types of raw material resources and means of existence and which is inexorably approaching in keeping with the rapid growth of the number of inhabitants of the earth and so forth.

2) Even being linked in their direct origins with individual, certain regions of the planet, even in instances when their sharp exacerbation is limited for now only to certain spatial limits, all these problems in their very essence are of a universal nature and concern all mankind, as ultimately they threaten all inhabitants of the earth regardless of their geographic, state and ethnic identity;

3) The awareness of this entire complex of threats which have arisen and are constantly growing on the part of persons from different continents and countries naturally has forced them to abandon the previous economic autarky and the recent and equally acute political and ideological confrontation and turn with hope of mutual understanding to one another, to take various steps toward one another and, finally, to convert to diverse

forms of direct multilateral collaboration and participate in the working out and implementation of joint programs aimed, if not at the complete overcoming, then at least at the maximum possible weakening of the existing negative situations and trends.

Hence, the logic of the strategy and tactics proposed and carried out by politicians:

—To focus attention primarily on the **dangers** threatening mankind, in appealing to the feeling of self-preservation, elementary common sense and reason.

—In every possible manner to disseminate and exploit the thesis of the **primacy of common human values** and standards over various regional, national, ethnic, social, including class, and so forth.

—In the practice of international relations, to focus efforts predominantly on the political and "technological" **contacts** with talks and decisions on the question of the complete destruction of nuclear weapons, reducing the arms race with the freeing up of resources for lessening global problems, developing new efficient and ecologically safe technologies in various spheres of industry and so forth.

In showing full understanding for the specific features of political consciousness and particularly the goals pursued by politicians, social theory at the same time proceeds from completely different premises, viewing the main bases of the currently observed processes of rapprochement and interaction of peoples and nations in the most **primordial, profound properties** of all species of living beings covered by the concept of "man," that is, relating to *Homo sapiens*.

Philosophy asserts that the first bands of humans which arose at the dawn of the genesis of mankind, with all their racial and tribal specific features and with all the qualitative discrepancies in their way of life, nevertheless differed from the nature from which they had just emerged, precisely as something whole, united and possessing a certain range of common and fundamentally new features. All of them, in the first place, themselves produced the means of their existence; secondly, they possessed the quality of consciousness and reflection and could relate in one way or another to the outside world and to themselves; thirdly, they did both these things in the process of social intercourse, entering into various social relations and ties with one another. Precisely these universal, congenital properties inherent to all persons without exception, to persons as such, in and of themselves contained **gigantic potential** for the future existence of diverse ties between all, initially isolated blood brothers. And it is precisely the realization of this potential, and a realization precisely on the universal level, that we are observing at present, in noting the rapid internationalization of all types of human activity.

From this, aside from all else, it follows that the processes under discussion cannot be explained solely by modern trends in the development of human civilization

and tied to the rise of revolutionary industrial technologies, to powerful means of communications or, particularly, global problems. No, they began not today and not yesterday but behind them lies the long, centuries-old history of the formation and development of world culture which in principle did not know racial, national, state, social or other limits to its spread. In having this aspect of the question in mind, K. Marx, as is known, distinguished in the history of mankind the so-called Prehistory and the World History *per se* of terrestrial civilization, emphasizing that this World History was the result, the product of history and a definite and precisely superior stage in the development of the human community.

As was stressed by K. Marx, the age of capitalism made a truly gigantic contribution to the development of this process, since the bourgeoisie "tore the national grounds out from under the feet of industry... In the place of the old local and national self-sufficiency and existence from own-produced products there came multisided contacts and diverse dependence of the nations one upon the other. This applied equally to both material and spiritual production. The fruits of the spiritual activities of individual nations became common property. National one-sidedness and restrictedness are becoming evermore impossible and one world literature is being formed out of the multiplicity of national and local literatures" [1].

As a multiplicity of data shows, the 20th Century has fundamentally advanced this process further. However, in speaking about the internationalization of human relations, I would like to particularly emphasize that this is being realized not only in the sphere of the economy, culture and policy but also on the level of the very ethnobiological development of the human species. Let me quote Academician N.P. Dubinin on this question: "The process of the mixing of races," he said 20 years ago, "has gone on over the last 10,000-15,000 years. Since 1492, after C. Columbus discovered America, the modern, ever-increasing round of the genetic process began and this united human heredity into a single gigantic population. As a whole, it can be considered that at present around one-half of mankind is the product of racial mixing" [2].

In providing an explanation which does not coincide with the views of politicians on the essence of the designated processes, social theory naturally offers a different strategy for their maintaining and development.

- Focusing attention primarily on the process going on everywhere in the world of the development of a single world culture.
- In the practice of international relations, to focus the main efforts on the maximum development of all types of cultural exchange and the experience garnered by various groups of mankind in the aim of further bringing together the principals belonging to different sociocultural structures.

—In every possible way to confirm the idea that the solution to global problems should be viewed not as an end in itself obscuring the true sense of the movement of history but rather as a natural consequence of this movement aimed at the further development of the essential forces of all the "species" of *Homo sapiens* and so the establishing of universal ties between them.

Now on the issue of the second question of just how far in actuality the designated processes have gone of forming a single world culture and the positive interaction and rapprochement of various types of principals operating in the modern world.

In assessing this aspect of the matter, progressive politicians have steadily insisted that the existence of certain common human values and standards is already an accomplished fact, an unconditional empirical reality which can be strictly fixed and measured. In proving the given idea, they refer to the consensus which has purportedly been reached on a world scale over the need to prevent a nuclear disaster, the readiness of all peoples and nations to solve ecological problems and the exhortation by members of the most diverse types of societies of certain standard, universally recognized views about good and evil, beautiful and ugly, the ideal and the anti-ideal. In the latter instance, among the specific example of such supposedly universal values there usually figure the value of the individual human life, freedom of the individual, the so-called inalienable human rights and so forth.

On a purely human level, the politicians can be fully understood as by all means available to them they are actively endeavoring to mitigate the international and ecological tension and aid mankind as quickly as possible in moving from the age of hot and cold wars to an era of constructive peaceful coexistence. However, along with this one cannot help but see that these are completely different things, that is, to insist on the primacy of the common human over the local and the group and to assert that the former has already gained the upper hand over the latter. The thesis of primacy and the appeals for the peoples of the earth to forget their quarrels and begin living in a "common home" as a definite program of action are certainly true and extremely important, particularly in light of the dangers confronting mankind. But the assertion that there already exists certain common, the same for all—the so-called common human—elements in the structure of the social consciousness of all peoples and nations, all classes and groups of the population active in the modern world—this, of course, is a typical exaggeration and a naive attempt to drive on and accelerate the course of history by portraying the desired as the actual, without to mention that this is also a definite sort of disinformation on the actual state of affairs.

In being concerned not with subjective desires and appeals but rather with an analysis of objective facts, social theory provides a completely different diagnosis to

existing reality, asserting that the process of the establishing of an Universal History or a single world culture—although being strong and although being vividly expressed—is still just a trend in world development and that this process is still in the first stages of its evolution and has been accompanied by a number of acute clashes and opposing trends which constantly reduce the results of this.

In recognizing in principle the existence of mankind as a distinct, global community, sociologists at the same time are perfectly aware that within the limits of all the stages which mankind has gone through in its development, it has represented and does represent not so much a single subject as a certain aggregate and a multiplicity of the most diverse—in national, social, cultural, ideological and other terms—subjects. And this aspect of the multiple—of different directions and of multiple layers—differentiation of mankind into different types of communities has incomparably more significance in explaining a predominant majority of events in the life of previous and contemporary generations than does the belonging of people to the genus of *Homo sapiens* as such. And this includes within the functioning of the mentioned world culture. Being in its very essence common-human, this culture in the history of all known, including the currently existing, formations which have been steadily characterized by a more or less rigid social structure, has steadily been realized not in its immediate common human form but rather in diverse limited, particular forms including local, ethnic, social estate, class and so forth. A majority of these particular forms and above all the actual class forms of culture actively claim that precisely they are the authentic and true ones corresponding to human nature and expressing the common interests of the people. However, their comparative limitations remain a fact and this fact finds its direct manifestation in the open opposition, struggle and antagonisms of the various forms of culture (of groups and classes) in each concrete society, and all the more in the human community as a whole. The given opposition is the most essential trait in the life of the modern world and any underestimation of it (including under the impact of notions spread by politicians about the triumph of the common human) would be a major error capable of leading to serious gaps not only in the theoretical map of the world but also in practical actions aimed at its improvement and development.

In other words, the universal which was initially set down in each principal of history has yet to overcome the limited, particular forms of its existence and show itself to the entire world as this universal, having become an actual (and not merely a potential) property of all the "species" of intelligent man inhabiting the earth.

Aside from all else, from this it follows that in all our judgments concerning the convergence of social processes and occurring on various sociocultural levels, it is essential to observe a maximum of caution. In recording externally similar forms and mechanisms for the realization of these processes (for example, in the case of

employing the same production technology or communications equipment) in countries characterized by different levels of general development or particularly those related to two noncoinciding civilization systems (for example, compare Bulgaria and Japan, West Germany and Iran or the United States and USSR), we should not deceive ourselves over their actual existence and accept very **similar** but at the same time **fundamentally differing processes** as identical and as completely coinciding not only in form but also in terms of all their sociocultural content. History has repeatedly taught us persuasive lessons on this account, showing the erroneousness of such superficial and hurried conclusions which have been far from harmless for the fate of mankind. This has been true not only on an international scale, within the boundaries of the life of the world as a whole, but also on the scale of individual states, particularly those which are marked by a high degree of heterogeneity in their social, national, religious and other make-up. The recent experience of our nation involved with the processes of perestroika, in particular, in the shortest period of time has shown that the famous Stalinist postulates on the so-called moral-political unity of the Soviet people and the "eternal friendship of the USSR peoples" are nothing more than myths, pure ideological statements which shamelessly have falsified social reality. At present, in observing the very acute, including bloody, social and nationality conflicts within our nation, we can again convince ourselves that true convergence under the conditions of a profoundly divergent world requires significantly more historical time than we have been granted up to now for the mutual adaptation of the various sociocultural structures and for obtaining a certain new quality as a result of their complete interaction with one another.

And, finally, about the last of the problems listed by me and related to assessing the basic historical mainstreams through which the examined structures are drawn closer together or more specifically with an assessment of those specific social mechanisms by which the principals with different, including opposite, sociocultural characteristics ultimately succeed in escaping from their specific features and begin operating under a unified program.

It is not hard to see that this problem is the most complex of all and that only scientific, theoretical analysis accustomed to working not solely with empirical facts can get its teeth into it. For precisely this reason, political thought has almost completely avoided an examination of it, focusing its attention on resolving purely pragmatic tasks in providing maximally broad and permanent contacts between all the participants in the world historical process, beginning with the ubiquitously known heads of government and ending with the anonymous partners in the sphere of so-called people's diplomacy.

On the other hand, social theory here is concerned primarily with the secret mechanisms of the occurring processes, those "levers" and "gears" of those social technologies concealed from the observer's eyes and by which the unexplainable happens, that is, the real, actual

elimination of the differences between diverse and very distant sociocultural systems.

In carrying out this task, modern scientific thought has moved simultaneously along several paths, endeavoring to employ the entire arsenal of the means acquired by it of theoretical analysis. In order to be persuaded of this one has merely to turn again to the program of the 12th Congress, where the issue is raised of "sociology for a single world," and "convergence in models of socialization," and about the "dependence in the international division of labor" and about "practical ethics in a single world" and about the "sociological concept of human nature." At the same time, one of the most important, in my view, directions in this movement has been steadily left on the sidelines. For this reason, I would like to draw attention to it.

What do I have in mind specifically? An examination of the processes of **massing** or **massivization** (the turning into mass) of various types of human activity and within which (the processes) there have appeared numerous and diverse "nonclassical" (nongroup) types of aggregate principals (communities) named masses or mass communities. Occurring in archaic forms even in primitive society, arising sporadically over the entire history of world civilization and, finally, gaining a wide scope in the age of the establishing of the capitalist (the first actual mass) method of production, these processes began to spread rapidly in breadth and depth precisely in the 20th Century on the basis of modern mass production technologies and mass communications, assuming various forms of mass consumption, mass exchange, mass culture, mass leisure and so forth. Gigantic inter- and supernational concerns which bring together tens of thousands of workers, engineers and white collar personnel, the infinite large and small clubs, unions and associations linking people by interests; the multimillion audiences of the mass communications media and channels; participants in local and international protest movements or, on the contrary, in defense of various political, ecological and humanitarian values; the constantly and ubiquitously arising and disintegrating aggregates of citizens named a community or public opinion—these are the typical examples known now to one and all for the existence of modern mass communities.

As special types of social principals which differ fundamentally from classic groups and arising and functioning on the basis of their own to the highest degree specific patterns, mass communities, I am convinced, should become a subject of the closest study by virtually all types of modern sociology. Such a study, I am convinced, will be capable of shedding light on many aspects of the life of the contemporary world and reveal many of its mysteries. Certainly here much will be cleared up in the phenomenon being discussed by us of the moving closer together of the various sociocultural systems, since mass communities, in my view, precisely comprise an intermediate link in the dynamic transition of "group to common human." Certainly viewed from the viewpoint of their composition, these communities represent

extremely motley formations bringing together people from the most diverse (including those which oppose one another in different areas of social space) classes, strata and cohorts of the population including social, ethnic, by age, the level of income and education, political and religious orientation and so forth. Nevertheless, with all such unprecedented heterogeneity, these communities are not mechanical (as is sometimes thought) but completely normal organic formations which clearly demonstrate a consensus among a striking number of their members both on the level of consciousness and on the level of behavior and not only within individual countries but also on an international scale.

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"The World Inside-Out": The Methodology of the Converted Form

915D0008C Moscow *SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA* in Russian No 12, Dec 90 (signed to press 23 Oct 90) pp 23-36

[Article by Albert Ivanovich Kravchenko, candidate of philosophical sciences and leading science associate at the Institute of Sociology of the USSR Academy of Sciences. A permanent contributor of ours]

[Text] Without any exaggeration, the category of the "social converted form" possesses as strong a heuristic potential as, for example, the category of the "ideal type" formulated and first widely tested out in sociology by Max Weber. At the same time, history has judged differently: the "ideal type" which was employed by Marx prior to Weber has become permanently incorporated in the arsenal of sociological science. Unfortunately, this cannot be said about the "social converted form." Clearly, the reason is in the difficulty of understanding the given category as its author did not leave a complete explanation.

As far as we know, Marx employed this term only once in his life, in the second rough draft of "Capital," that is, at the end of the economic manuscript written during the period from August 1861 through July 1863 [1, p 148].

One should note the fact that the concepts of the "social" converted form and "alienation" were employed by Marx as equivalents but not necessarily as synonyms. Their coupled use shows rather that both concepts stand among the most important and fundamentally significant economic-sociological categories. It is no accident that Marx appended the word "social" to the concept of

the "converted form." In the given instance it is an issue of the social relations and collective labor of the workers and not of economic relations as in the other works by Marx, for example, in "Capital," where the expressions are employed of the "process of conversion" and "converted form" in explaining the mechanism of the circulation of capital, the exchange of goods and so forth.

The category of the "converted form" is not only among the most important but also among the earliest in the teachings of Marx. It was first raised in the "Outline of the Book of James Mill 'Elements of Political Economy'," which he composed in the first half of 1844. Marx described the most important features reflecting the essence of the phenomenon and its theoretical matrix. The first feature was the replacement of real relations (between people or things) by symbolic ones (money); the second was the replacement of overt relations which are empirically fixed or experienced by symbolic, invisible or covert ones; third was the dominance of the symbolic and covert relation; fourth was the separation of such illusory (unreal) relations from the normal (real) and the converting of them into an independent essence which prevailed over people. The symbolic relations hiding in the background in the normal course of events and suddenly emerging to the forefront are, in essence, abstract relations. A normal relation is the exchange of goods between people. Even the introduction of money as an intermediary still does not overturn the initial relation. But when money which symbolizes value (and which is an abstract relation) begins to subordinate ordinary human relations to itself, that is, when man becomes the slave of money, then and only then can one speak about the converted form. Not only money but also, for example, documents can act as the intermediary.

The labor activity of a person devoid of its actual social linkage, in using the words of the young Marx, is a torment, while "his own creativity is an alien force to him, his wealth is his poverty and the essential link connecting him with another person is a nonessential link...his production is the production of his nonexistence and his power over the article ends up as the power of the article over him..." [2, p 21].

For example, a permanent scarcity of commodities not only paralyzes social activity, it creates tension in relations between people and opens up broad opportunities for speculation and theft. In employing the language of sociological theory, a commodity shortage under socialism is a state of affairs when the production of social wealth becomes the production of social nonexistence. A scarcity which excludes the possibility of natural ties in society, which forms people into enormous lines and dooms them to coupons and a rationing system, theft and speculation and a senseless search for things means that in such a society the power of man over the article is converted into the power of the article over him.

The definition of the converted form given by Marx in his "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844" [3] is important for us in many regards. It concludes the previously commenced analysis and brings it to a logical end, to complete clarity. The converted form creates a dual world, one real and the other illusory. In this "world inside-out" the illusory assumes the place of the real and is perceived as the only real existence. Here man does not notice and should not notice the substitution. Both worlds—the initially real and the illusory (the secondarily real which has become the real due to the distorting of social relations) are opposing and contradict one another.

All the features of a converted form—the dichotomy, the substituting of one for another, opposition and contradiction—are extremely important for a correct understanding of its nature. If these are not taken into account, then the converted form can easily be confused with other similar categories, for example, alienation. In alienation a certain human quality, a trait of interindividual or social (collective) relations is taken away from the carrier (principal) of these qualities or traits and becomes something independent and then prevailing over the principal. For Marx it was of no importance whether an individual somehow experienced a state of alienation or not. For him, alienation was an objectively existing relation in the collective existence of people and independent of their will and consciousness.

However, for the entire Western European and North American tradition, alienation, as a rule, entailed the psychological sensation of abandonment in the world, the loss of the sense of life and the importance of one's "ego" for this world. Without such an experience there was no alienation. For this reason, foreign sociologists measure alienation using sociopsychological tests. In the Marxian notion, in principle, there cannot be such alienation. In Marx, alienation, like Durkheim's anomy, is the suppression of individual activity by social institutions, it is the objective characteristics of the social structure and not the subjective feelings of people.

For Durkheim, anomy was the absence of generally accepted norms and standards of conduct, firm laws and social guarantees and a sort of troubled state. Anomy can exist only on the level of a large social group, but not for an individual. Alienation for Marx is a subject but not a subjective relationship. For him the features and conditions of alienation are the division and specialization of labor, private property and exploitation. Modern Western sociologists, on the contrary, more often reduce alienation not to subject but rather subjective relations. The best known description of alienation has been given by M. Seeman (1959) and who established the following variables: removal from power (powerlessness), purposelessness, a lack of standards, isolation and self-isolation [4, 5]. All five characteristics describe subjective sensations of objectively existing conditions of collective existence. Precisely the same route was followed by G. Netter [6] and R. Blauner [7] who measured the degree of alienation using a scale of views. It frequently happened

that in measuring alienation, the sociologists also measured anomie and vice versa. This shows how close both concepts were.

Thus, alienation describes a simultaneous subjective sensation of the loss of the purpose of life, isolation, a lack of control as well as the objective phenomenon of the destruction of certain social institutions or structures. As a rule, in Marx one cannot trace a single interpretation of the problem and on the contrary in his works one encounters the most diverse almost contradictory views: alienation at one moment is raised by him to a metaphysical feature under which modern civilization develops and then reduces it to almost a technical operation, for example, the removal (alienation) of workers from control.

Nor does Marx show unity in the understanding of the converted form. In one instance it expresses the result of essentially a technical and economic process of the conversion of capital and in another is raised to a universal scale of the bifurcating of the world. Marx understood conversion at one moment as a completely positive process and then as a uniformly negative one. He did not provide any set interpretation and clearly did not pursue such a goal.

Nevertheless, certain differences between alienation and the converted form can be detected. First, the converted form, in contrast to alienation, is never a subjective experience, although it can exist on the individual-group level. Secondly, in structural terms it is a more complex phenomenon in which alienation can operate merely as a part. Thirdly, alienation does not necessarily end with the doubling and overturning of the world while the converted form, as a rule, contains alienation as one of its stages.

In Soviet literature one of the earliest—and up to the present, probably the most thorough—investigations of the converted form belongs to M. Mamardashvili. According to his proposal, such a form, in being the result of distorting the inner relationships of the social system, conceals their actual nature and is replaced by the visible or indirect. The distorted relations acquire such permanent independence that they begin behaving as a separate, qualitatively new and independent formation. Here is the problem of the converted form: the distorted ties (traits, properties or qualities) are so apparent that they can be recorded empirically while on the contrary the real traits concealed behind them can only be guessed at. The converted form acts as a unique substance or carrier of this appearance [8, p 386].

The converted form otherwise can be interpreted as a particular, if it can be so put, failed variety of the ordinary (classic) relationship of the philosophical categories of form and content. "A particular feature of the converted form which distinguishes it from the classic relation of form and content is in the objective remoteness here of the definitions of content as the form of manifestation gains independent 'essential' significance,

and becomes distinct, while content is replaced in the phenomenon by another relation which merges with the properties of the material agent (substance) of the form itself (for example, in instances of symbolism) and takes the place of the actual relations. This apparent form of actual relations which is distinct from their inner relation at the same time plays...the role of an independent mechanism in controlling the real processes on the surface of the system.... A direct depiction of content in the form is excluded here" [8, p 387].

As is known, human labor acts, on the one hand, as the transformation of the matter of nature according to a previously compiled plan and on the other as expenditures of human physical and mental forces and the effort of those organs by which the labor activity is carried out. Is it possible to imagine labor in which only one aspect of it is present, let us assume, the efforts are spent but there is no output of a product?

If one were to look at this from the standpoint of common sense, then the answer would be of course not. Labor is called productive because it adds something new: new motor vehicles, housing, radios or engineer developments. It is somehow difficult to imagine the expenditures of physical and mental effort which do not end with anything. Nevertheless, such "labor" does exist and it can be called unproductive. Like productive labor, it has a multiplicity of concrete forms and varieties.

One of them is "taking one's time." At one time, the American scientist F. Taylor wrote about this phenomenon. At present, it is termed "restrictionism" or the conscious limiting of the output rate but Taylor called it "sabotage." This word is not to be found either in the economic or the sociological dictionaries. Only in the "Sovetskiy Entsiklopedicheskiy Slovar" [Soviet Encyclopedic Dictionary] (1986) do we encounter the following definition: "sabotage (Fr. sabotage), the conscious non-performance of certain duties or their negligent execution. Soviet criminal law equates sabotage aimed at weakening the Soviet state as wrecking."

Sabotage, as an overt form of collective behavior leading to the nonexecution of certain duties, in essence, is a strike. On these grounds in the 1930s and 1940s, criminal law described any strike as sabotage and its perpetrators as wreckers. A paradox ensued as a strike was not recognized by the USSR Constitution as a legitimate means for the workers to defend their collective rights but it was not prohibited as everywhere it was claimed that "the most democratic society" existed in our nation and had as its goal the defense of the interests of the working class. There were no strikes, they were not written about nor mentioned. But if something similar happened, this was declared to be sabotage and the "wreckers" were dealt with mercilessly. This is precisely what happened with the Novocherkassk strike in 1962 when special troops fired on the strikers.

Sabotage in principle is prohibited or at least is not encouraged in any state. For this reason, the workers

have thought up covert sabotage. Only this is right to call "taking one's time." It is much safer for the executors and does not less but much more harm to the leaders. The phenomenon of restrictionism has spread in all industrial countries and has existed for some 200-250 years. No dependable means has been thought up to combat the "social corrosion" of production. The best medicine is the democratization of the management system.

The essence of "taking one's time" is that the workers physically can but psychologically do not want to fulfill the production quota, nevertheless appearing that they are working full force. The essence of the matter consists in this apparent work. Taylor, in observing the behavior of his worker comrades, wrote that in the shop everyone was in on the collusion about output rates. "I think that we restricted this rate to one-third of what we could have freely produced" [9, p. 71]. And here no one overtly stopped work. On the contrary, in the presence of management everyone appeared to be working hard. But as soon as the supervisor left the room, the workers immediately halted their activity.

Let us disregard those procedures and tricks employed by the workers to deceive the vigilance of management. It is important to describe the sociophilosophical essence of the problem.

If a worker for a part of the day does not produce values, even though he is not idle but rather, as they say, "takes his time," then his labor is only the appearance of labor as there is no socially useful content in it. With a daily rate of 100 pieces he manufactures only 80 but appears to be working "flat out."

The reduction of work to the appearance of labor activity deprives labor of its material content and "activity without a subject," as K. Marx constantly repeated, "is nothing or at best is abstract activity" [10, p. 216]. And it can be called abstract only out of a misconception.

In productive labor, its content is the manufacturing of a material product, that is, the converting of the matter of nature while the form is the expenditures of physical forces and the effort of hands. A worker takes a stock, puts it under the press and then removes a finished piece. The form can be different if instead of a man these operations are performed by an automatic device and here there are no expenditures of physical forces. But the content remains as in the end stage, a thing emerges which possesses consumer value.

With "taking one's time" everything is turned upside-down and the form has become an end in itself and even the content while real content has disappeared. The purpose of the man is no longer to make a product but rather to delay its production, not to affirm something but rather deny it. The visible form of actual relations has become separate and an independent being. It is the main hero in the new "play" in collective behavior, since

for the workers the main thing is to deceive the management, to conceal the real idleness and persuade the management that everything is going as it should.

Productive labor has become unproductive, real labor efforts have been replaced by apparent or sham, and true form by converted or distorted. The aspect of deliberateness in collective behavior is very important. It seemingly arises automatically. Let us recall the words about the collusion of the workers as it is present in all instances of restrictionism. Of course, the workers are not a terroristic group, not a political party or an organized band.

The word "collusion" does not contain anything terrible as this is merely the process of the joint agreement on rules of conduct and the achieving of consensus in a small group over the assigning of roles. Initially, this is expressed in mass dissatisfaction with something ("you work like a dog and they pay you pennies"). Gradually a "group of grumblers" is formed if the underpayment is a mass phenomenon. With trepidation and great caution the workers begin to sound out the opinion of one another as to what would happen if you worked less but you would still be paid little. Someone sets an example which becomes a model for imitation, for the emotional grounds have been prepared for accepting this. The small group keeps its "collusion" a secret, although an experienced manager would spot it at first glance. But if he harshly puts down the insurrection, the workers will seek vengeance later on in causing much greater harm.

What in philosophical language is termed a converted form in the actual behavior of people is the most ordinary informal standard of collective actions reflecting the disagreement of the executors with the principles of the leaders. However, such standards, in being an element in the economic system as well as mass social phenomenon, cease to be a private matter of a group of people. The conscious limiting of productivity caused by the current economic mechanism oversteps the boundaries of an informal rule, becoming an universal economic standard and an objective pattern. In using the words of M. Mamardashvili, the apparent form, having become separated from real relations and due precisely to its separateness and acceptance, plays "the role of an independent mechanism in the management of real processes" [8, p. 387].

In studying the heritage of Marx, economists from the age of "developed socialism" said that the category of the converted form was inapplicable to our reality or was only partially applicable as long as money survived [11]. Certainly under socialism, and here they recalled the words of the author of "Capital," "social relations of people to their labor and to the products of labor remain...transparently clear both in production and in distribution" [12, p. 89]. Even in the era of glasnost and perestroika, our social scientists have been unable to free themselves of the ideological myths. Thus, in the only major monograph at present on this subject, as

before it is asserted that the converted form is characteristic solely of a bourgeois society and serves as a means of ideological subversion [13]. Possibly the words on the transparently clear relations are completely applicable to the ideally typical model of socialism and namely one, as Marx admitted, he had created (at that time he simply could not propose a different one). But we live completely in a different socialism in one which we have built with so much labor and enormous mistakes. In this society, as in the real daily life of people generally, there never has been nor could there be transparently clear relations. The apparent and the false here intertwine with the real and the true. This is real life, without invention and theoretical abstractions.

There is nothing surprising in the fact that on one plane of socialism there exist real achievements (although quite meager) and obvious distortions. Organized crime, corruption which involves a significant portion of the administrative system, juvenile bandit formations which terrorize the public in many cities—these are converted forms of collective relations and activities devoid of socially significant and socially useful content. At the same time, they comprise that portion of social reality which the sociologist must study.

Here also we must put the alienation of labor which supposedly is not at all characteristic of socialism, the covert exploitation of labor by the state which supports an inflated bureaucratic apparatus precisely by extracting or confiscating the surplus (and to a significant degree the basic) value from the product of the workers' labor. Also in the same rank of the conditions which give rise to converted forms, that is, the dual world of values, stand such categories as the commodity nature of the labor force and hired labor, unemployment and the compulsory nature of labor. All of these are real and not apparent "achievements" of socialism. At the other pole are the limited private entrepreneurship in the form of individual and cooperative activities as well as the joint stock and mixed enterprises.

The zone of private entrepreneurship and the commodity economy, if one were to believe Marx, have long served as the hothouse of converted forms. Transplanted from capitalism into socialism, they merely supplement those which were engendered by the new social system and do not eliminate or restrict the sphere of action of the specifically "socialist" converted forms.

The converted form, having once permeated the fabric of production relations, paralyzes the economic mechanism, forcing work for the sake of false goals and fanciful production quotas. A wasteful attitude is formed toward resources and the human factor and this leads to an increased number of supervisory levels and the inflating of the management personnel. Material and labor expenditures are limited from above and quotas are introduced for saving them. Product quality indicators are approved. Sanctions are introduced for producing obsolete articles or for exceeding the limits for scarce types of raw products and materials. However, this narrows the

sphere of independently taken decisions. The apparatus of planning, supply, financial and supervising bodies swells. "The paradox is that the growing storm of limits leads to an even stronger desire by the consumer to protect himself, to store up and provide for himself for any emergency" [14].

The existing system for assessing enterprise operations (for the fulfillment of the plan regardless of the actually created capital investment sources) puts in a privileged position those collectives which have provided for inflated raw material consumption rates and low indicators for labor productivity. It is easier for them to overfulfill the plan and be listed among the pacesetters. It is more difficult for those who operate efficiently.

Society, Marx said, will never be a hard crystal or an ossified inert mass. This is a constantly changing living organism in which some relations are converted into others and the organism "is in the constant process of conversion or transformation" [11, p 11]. The process of conversion, like the movement of blood through the organism, should go on continuously. Should it stop then salts begin to be deposited in the working organs. This is an indication of aging or disease. The converted forms are unique crystals. At one moment they become very numerous and they paralyze the living tissues. Society is overtaken by social paralysis.

An indication of social paralysis is the deeply reaching process of alienation. The alienated form to which social relations are subordinate overturns them "in such a manner that a person precisely because he is a conscious being, converts his activities, his essence, merely into a means for maintaining his existence" [3, p 93]. By the essence of man one must understand, of course, not merely the aggregate of social relations but those relations—and here we must turn to the formula of M. Weber—which, being reduced to a moral denominator, form a unity with the ethics of conviction and the ethics of responsibility. To turn one's essence into a means of one's existence means to sacrifice the superior to the inferior, the elevated to the base. In swallowing his pride, a person gives a manager a bribe (although this is extremely against his nature) for the sake of gaining admission for his son to a VUZ, for obtaining an apartment, getting promoted, that is, making his life easier. The essence (the ethical and moral principles for which some are ready to give up their lives) is turned into a means of existence.

In the taxi fleets and at motor transport enterprises tips flourish as the drivers give 3 rubles to the washer, 5 to the repairman and timekeeper and they deduct an additional percentage for the shop chief. In addition to moral decay here there is social paralysis of collectivism. A group cover-up is a converted or distorted form of collectivism, for in terms of form, that is, in terms of appearance, here is something like a helping hand, solidarity and comradely aid while in fact, that is, in terms of content, there is venality, sycophancy and bribery ("you do something

for me and I'll do something for you") and a wheeling-dealing that has nothing in common with socialism. Although here the bribing and graft are a forced form of behavior. They are necessary for the driver to obtain a vehicle in working order. In actuality, this is the direct duty of the maintenance personnel and the management. Hence, it is advantageous for the latter not to perform their immediate duties and force the drivers to transgress the law and their conscience for if they do not slip them 5 rubles they will not work. For the performing of their immediate obligations—and for which the state pays a wage—the maintenance personnel is receiving additional tips. The converted form through the system of unwritten standards of conduct has developed to a separate mechanism which turns normal relations inside-out. And this is done so effectively that the converted relations are perceived by the individual as natural and the only possible.

Extortion or a bribe must be viewed as the extorting of illegal remuneration for some specific service which is the direct obligation of the given person. Extortion can become semivoluntary when a person is put under conditions where he is forced to give a bribe. Tips are somewhat different as long as it does not reach extortion such as not accepting the change in a taxi or putting a ruble in the pocket of a repairman or hall porter. A more serious form is the converting of public property into a source of personal gain. A conductor gives a passenger linen that is not fresh and judging from all indications already used or will allow a person without a ticket to travel for a certain pittance. The state-owned railway car assigned to him in accord with his official duties is turned into a private shop. Another becomes a private conductor on the state-owned railroad in putting the fare calculated by him in his pocket.

The formula of Marx "money is a converted form of commodity" and "peace wages are a converted form of time (and vice versa)" [11, p 561] is rather clear if its action is restricted to the sphere of economic relations. But when this is transferred to the social, it becomes extremely complex. The tips, bribes and so forth are the same money but no longer in the form of a commodity and not the payment for a commodity, but rather payment for some social advantages which are achieved by avoiding the law and the current economic mechanisms. The persons who hold a socially privileged position begin to consider the collective, joint property (plant transport, plant trips to sanatoriums and so forth) as "their own." Ordinarily we welcome such an attitude and call it efficient. We do not have enough good managers of production. But this should be collective production and not individual or converted into private. The opportunity for a superior to consider the collective good as a private good is a converted form of socioeconomic relations.

Power (formal) does not belong to the individual, it belongs to the position. Power can be negatively personified, that is, used for personal ends. This phenomenon is

similar to the phenomenon of so-called negative leadership, when the group becomes the means for realizing the aims of the leader to the detriment of their own. Negative or converted leadership is distinct in the fact that its realization can diverge (really) or seemingly differ from the goals of society. A superior employs a brigade for finishing his own apartment or at a scientific research institute a group of co-workers writes a dissertation for the leader. Or another instance: A superior artificially checks the growth of the skills of subordinates who have actually long since overgrown the limits of their position (in terms of the competence level). However, the leader leaves them in the inferior position, using material developed by them for his own articles and books. Here exploitation of the labor of others acts as the content of the converted form.

Pseudodelegation is also an example of a converted form. A true form of delegating is turning over a part of the rights to inferior management levels. Certain particular tasks and rights are delegated to an autonomous group or brigade such as allocating the work and the procedure for performing the operations, the calculating of the labor participation coefficient and so forth. Delegating is, in essence, the process of altering detailed supervision (the equivalent of petty interference) into general supervision (the equivalent of democratic management). The leader shows greater trust in his subordinates, in limiting himself to the setting of general tasks and supervising the end result and not the labor process itself. The subordinates have an increased amount of freedom of action and responsibility with the material basis for this being a good organization of labor. Thus, the material basis for delegating is a clearly thought-out system of interlinked functions, the prompt supply of raw products and tools and the absence of arbitrariness and subjectivism on the part of the administration in assessing the final results of the work.

Pseudodelegation is delegating merely in terms of appearances, but in essence is something directly the opposite. This is a converted form of managing the labor process. Its characteristic traits are: 1) the spontaneous organization of labor with the delayed supply of raw materials, tools and supplies, the absence of skilled personnel and the dividing of jobs into "advantageous" and "disadvantageous"; 2) the transposing by management of its functions to the shoulders of the executors themselves. The latter feature determines the essence of pseudodelegation. In the absence of a normal organization of labor (which includes a competing of talents), the established structure of social relations is disrupted in the collective and protectionism and arbitrariness appear.

A converted form which has subordinated collective relations to itself at an enterprise overturns the social organization of labor and transforms its content. From a method of cooperation and collaboration among various groups, the social organization is converted into a variety of protectionism. In this instance it can be asserted that the social organization is a distorted system

of authority and powers which has been adapted by the workers to themselves and to their group interests. For example, an indicator of the converted organization is how the formal mechanisms are employed for personal aims, for instance, the general assembly of the collective for persecuting criticism or for protecting idlers and embezzlers. Such instances are quite widespread. A person has criminal charges brought against him but the court receives a positive recommendation adopted by the general assembly of the plant or shop.

Another indicator of a converted form of social organization is "taking one's time," not on an individual level but a collective one. This serves as an element of the social mechanism by which an average level of carrying out the work is legitimized, if this is considered normal and does not encourage achievements. The forms for the manifestation of such a mechanism are the following: 1) "records are punished," that is, overfulfillment of a quota is punished by a reduction in the wage rate; 2) power in the organization is obtained by those who do average or mediocre work, a mediocre director "treats kindly" mediocre chiefs of the departments and they persecute intelligent, critically thinking co-workers, viewing them as a threat to their position. On this basis, very complicated mechanisms are formed for driving out progressively thinking advanced persons by reprimands, by creating an obedient public opinion and depicting such persons in a negative form (defamation). Here also we would have to put the psychological atmosphere of a "swamp," the partial placement of personnel and the juggling of documents and objective information.

Social relations develop according to the formula "you do something for me and I will do something for you." Their goal is to protect or defend "one's own" persons, that is, preference for some who are "meaningful" over others who are "not meaningful." Clannish or group relations are formed. Protectionism is also a social converted form in the relations of people.

The anatomy of the converted form of collective relations in the given instance is as follows: when I render a certain service to someone above the normal (above the official job, kinship, professional or simply personal relations), I place this person dependent upon myself, that is, I am saying that at some time he will have to answer to me with some service. This is the advancing of future services for oneself. The other person becomes—and here objectively, due to the specific rules of the "game" and the particular features in such a mechanism of relations—only a means for me, a means for achieving my selfish ends. I give him a "present" (a bribe or service) in order that he can place "my" man in an institute, in a good job or promote him. In other words, I put him in my debt.

In this instance, in the first place, moral principles are violated and, secondly, also legal laws. Moral falseness consists in the violating of social justice: in terms of his knowledge, qualifications and professional qualities my protege is not worthy of being admitted to the institute,

but I achieve this, replacing other more worthy persons. The legal wrongness of such an act stems from its character as an illegal deal as I have endeavored to obtain certain goods which could not be achieved by legal means. And here we are right to draw an analogy with the phenomenon of "taking one's time" I myself or "my" man who by pulling strings has been given a cushy job, is earning above what he merits, that is, we "produce" less than we receive. The qualifications of my protege are sufficient, let us assume, for the post of a junior science associate but by pulling strings he receives the rate of a senior one. In an unannounced "competition," he bypasses other more worthy persons.

The actual relations of "you do something for me and I will do something for you" are always a group collusion, a secret deal usually between two persons and concealed from others. But at the same time, this is a violation of ordinary professional relations based upon professional honesty and a competition between natural abilities. If the other is more talented, hence he should be promoted. But I want to gain something for myself and in social terms be his equal, although I do not have any justification for this. I seek out circuitous ways, being certain that I cannot win a natural competition of talents. The circuitous ways disrupt the rivalry of equals. I resort to extracompetitive, that is, more powerful levers and eliminate natural competition.

Such a distorted form is similar to the "debtors' pit" into which both agents of the secret relations fall. They are forced to conceal them, fearing revealing. Ordinary human envy has always been the source of such relations. I do not have the same abilities as someone else but I envy him and want to be his equal and for this reason I search out circuitous ways. Here relations of envy and the attempts to make life easier for oneself are contagious for others and they find this easier to imitate. It is merely a question of being like those who follow the circuitous path but are not punished and so I can do the same. A chain reaction is created. In contrast to these, normal human relations spread at a much slower rate. Their anatomy is not based on the principle of a chain reaction, for moral relations based on the competition of abilities and social justice require more labor, effort and time. It is always easier to find a way around (like "taking one's time").

The search for circuitous ways and protection are, in essence, the imitation of real relations which naturally arise between people in human intercourse which has not been socially corrupted. As in the case of "taking one's time," the partners play at real relations and make the appearance that they are observing them. Like an actor in a movie playing the role of a steel caster and carrying out the same aggregate of operations as a real steel caster (otherwise the actor simply would not be believed). But is this real labor? Of course not, it is its mystification and imitation. The same thing happens with an actor playing the role of an engineer at the drafting table. Do we not see the same thing in an engineer when he simulates real

work, that is, sits at a drafting table making movements somewhat reminiscent of creativity but actually does not turn out any product?

When "taking one's time" spreads to the scale of a socioeconomic mechanism, that is, becomes a converted form of management, among its basic features the following are apparent:

1. Combined labor and its cooperation produce less of an effect and not more than the total of the individual persons. On the contrary, normal cooperation, as Marx showed, produced a significant rise in productivity in comparison with the aggregate of individuals.

2. The workers in a brigade endeavor to do not more but as little as possible in a day. For this purpose, they halt work even before the end of the shift. But a normal organization of labor would cause the individual to produce a maximum of product and not the minimum.

3. The aims of a small group run contradictory to the aims of a larger social system such an enterprise or society. For example, the aim of an informal group is to reduce or hold up labor productivity, while the aim of society is to increase it.

4. Jobs where one does not have to work at full capacity attract personnel like a magnet from where they actually are needed.

5. An unnormed working day ("extra work" and overtime) by scientific co-workers acts as a converted form of underpayment for skills. As is known, highly qualified mental labor in our country is paid less than physical labor. This causes the scientists to supplement their family budget by "off the books" work.

The manpower shortage must be fully considered a converted form of unemployment. As is known, during the first years of Soviet power unemployment existed in the nation averaging some 15 percent. By the beginning of the 1930s this had disappeared and from the end of the 1960s up to the present there was the reverse process of an unrestrained rise in "vacant" jobs. By 1985, the job reserve already equaled 15 percent. Having eliminated unemployment, points out B.N. Belyakov backing up his conclusions with statistical figures, socialism gave rise to a completely different phenomenon of "converted unemployment in the form of a job surplus" [15, pp 33-34].

On the surface of the phenomena everything occurs as in a classic play written according to the scenario of the converted form: the enterprises lack workers. The newspapers are dotted with announcements "Wanted, Wanted...." At the heart of the "scene" is a surplus of jobs. But manpower is in short supply precisely because at a majority of the enterprises there are inflated staffs and this, in turn, is caused by the insufficient skill of their labor. Where at a foreign firm two are employed, at

one of our there will be five (the official level of labor productivity in Soviet industry is 2.5-fold less than the American).

However, it is not merely a question of labor productivity. Our working conditions are worse than standard since "the 15-percent surplus in the number of jobs means that working conditions for the basic mass of workers are 15 percent lower than they objectively could be" [15, p 34]. The presence of surplus jobs also means that, in the first place, the jobs are filled by workers having a skill level below the normed; secondly, the workers are not provided with the right to skilled, creative labor and good working conditions. While those who do not have jobs suffer first from obvious unemployment, those who work conscientiously suffer from converted unemployment.

Both types of labor almost to an equal degree give (and possibly operate as a consequence of this) the labor force a commodity nature. "The overproduction of jobs...creates prerequisites for converting the labor force into a commodity. This immediately is felt in the social life of society and social relations assume the traits of a commodity but under socialism these relations should not have such features" [15, p 35].

However, the commodity nature of social relations has again assumed a converted form, that is, social relations are such only in appearances. Commodity or market features such as competition for jobs and free hiring exist only for a social group which has been eliminated from the taking of management decisions. In other words, removed from the levers of power and from the possibilities of control and disposing of key posts in the economy. And this again disrupts such a natural (at least in theory) principle of social justice: the upper levels have access to such post (and hence to social privileges) but the lowers do not.

Such groups were the working class, the peasantry and intelligentsia engaged in executing labor. They were given the right to be hired freely and seek out their place in the sun, at times overcoming unbelievable difficulties. However, it was not within their power to quit. Under the conditions of the Administrative System there was a whole range of sanctions even up to dismissal and these were applied under the initiative of the leadership. Dismissal, that is, depriving a person of the right to work, always entailed serious complications for the executor. Often this concealed the most primitive settling of personal scores, retribution for criticism or getting rid of dislike to workers. For appearances any dismissal was somehow justified and seemingly did not contradict the labor legislation. But in fact this was far from always the case.

In the Administrative System, the leaders and executors were put under unequal social conditions (it is a different question whether the functional relations were unequal with some managing and others obeying). The question was that hiring and firing for these groups occurred

differently. The managers most often placed "their own" people by phone call, by acquaintanceship or by a verbal recommendation. The "cushy jobs" were reserved for them. But for them dismissal was certainly not dismissal but rather a transfer to another position even in the instance when they had committed a serious infraction. But the executors in their mass were exposed to the action of the spontaneous forces of the labor market. Between hiring and firing there was a complete asymmetry as hiring occurred at their own will while dismissal was at the will of someone else.

If normal (and not converted or distorted) market conditions operated in our society, then the opportunities for hiring and firing would be the same for both groups as everyone is equal before the economic laws. Or let us go even farther; if in our society real socialist relations operated based on the planned allocation of the labor force, then in this instance their opportunities (and certainly social career) would again be balanced out. For theoretically socialism does not allow unearned privileges even for the leaders. These are natural rather for feudalism and its varieties (the types of barracks socialism). Only in the first instance the conditions of the social start and finish (hiring and firing) are equalized spontaneously while in the second there are planned mechanisms. Both of them, regardless of the qualitative dissimilarity, operate equally justly in relation to the individual worker.

The market and socialist mechanisms for allocating manpower fasten a person equally strongly to the job. In the first instance he is held by competition and unemployment and in the second by the lack of competition and converted unemployment. In other words, in a market economy there is a method of economic attachment to the job but in a so-called budget economy it is a method of arbitrary attachment.

The underproduction and overproduction of jobs negatively influence the motivation of executors, intensifying the feeling of fear and dependence. In truth, it is psychologically easier to endure dependence upon the impersonal market mechanism than dependence upon a completely real personality of a bureaucrat who has usurped the right to dispose of public property. Vacant jobs, if they are not a natural need of the production organization, are converted into the personal fief of the bureaucrat.

The converted form is awful not so much because it conceals the truth for us or depicts appearances as reality. The problem is that a man with satisfaction (particularly if it is advantageous for him) submits to deception, he begins to believe in the reality of illusion, manipulating appearances as the truth. He even bases his own economic plans and models on false relations. This is precisely how we all proceeded when we seriously discussed the problem of the personnel shortage, demanding a scientific study of it, quick and efficient solutions and, finally, capital investments for swollen figures.

If we deal with a converted form as with a real one, then this is an obvious indication that it has acquired the traits of certain quasisubstance, an independent albeit spurious fundamental principle of things. Converted or distorted unemployment increased precisely in those years (the 1960s), when the peak of extensive economic development was achieved in the nation. The vacant jobs were created by building new enterprises (in truth, at present more refined methods have been discovered). The appearance of "dead souls" was not merely the rise of nonexistent persons but also incapable ones. "The artificially created manpower shortage assumed that those who should fill the created jobs actually existed but since claimants could not fill jobs which in fact simply did not exist, from the formal viewpoint this manpower was recognized as incapable" [15, p 36].

In the dual world of the converted form, initially everything changes places and then the relationships which existed previously become confused in an amazing manner. The nonexistent becomes the incapable although they receive real wages. (This already is a paradox, since incapacity is in essence the absence of the ability to work, and precisely these should not be hired.) Being real consumers (for they receive a real wage), they are not any real producers. But not being the producers of a material product, how can they receive money as workers? Symbolic workers perform symbolic labor, but they receive nonsymbolic money.

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The Optimum Unemployment Level in the USSR

91SD0008D Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 12, Dec 90 (signed to press 23 Oct 90) pp 37-41

[Article by Andrey Aleksandrovich Davydov, candidate of philosophical sciences, science associate at the Sociology Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. He is a permanent contributor to our journal. The current article is one of the stages in carrying out the academy scientific research project "Structural Harmony and Disharmony in Social Systems" being worked out by the author at the Sociology Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences]

[Text] The problem of employing the population is one of the global problems of modern times [1]. This touches upon the interests of the youth who are just beginning their working life, the leaders of enterprises settling the questions of introducing new equipment, women and unemployed and involves the system of vocational training and the state as a whole.

In line with the conversion of the USSR economy to controlled market relations, we also have come face to face with this problem. Thus, in one of the proposed models, next year it has been forecast that 15-18 million persons will be released in the sphere of material production. According to the second model, it is 5-10 million [2]. If we add to this the already unemployed (according to various estimates from 2 to 5 million), then the immediacy of seeking out solutions becomes apparent.

With market relations is it possible to avoid unemployment? Proceeding from the existing experience this cannot be done. For example, D. Ashton isolates three groups of theories which explain in different ways the possibility of avoiding unemployment [3]. "Cyclical" theories view unemployment as the consequence of the cyclical nature of market production. In this group are

Keynesianism and the monetarist theory which has been most popular since the end of the 1970s. The "structural" theories tie unemployment to structural changes in the market caused by rationalization and by the growing exports of capital to nations with a cheaper labor force. The theory of "long waves" proceeds from the view that economic conditions go through longer cycles (approximately 50 years) along with the short ones. The unemployment level fluctuates in accordance with them. A slowdown occurs with a drive of capital into new areas under the influence of the drop in profits in the traditional ones.

From what has been said above, it can be concluded that under market conditions unemployment is inevitable and the main thing is what management decision must be chosen: to work for full employment or maintain unemployment on a so-called optimum level? In Soviet economic literature there are two views of this problem. According to the first, it is essential to seek full employment. Such a viewpoint prevailed in the discussion organized by the journal VOPROSY EKONOMIKI [4]. A different opinion is held by N. Shmelev who feels that a certain level of unemployment is necessary [5].

Clearly each position has its pluses and minuses. For example, in Sweden, where the unemployment level¹ is just 2 percent, some 6.5 percent of the state budget (or 2.5 percent of gross national product) is employed to carry out measures in the employment area. The total expenditures of the state for these purposes reach \$5 billion with around 4.5 million persons in the labor resources; here 70 percent of the funds goes to create new jobs, for training, and for supporting organizations involved in job placement [6]. From the example of Sweden it can be seen that the maintaining of unemployment on a very low level under market conditions requires significant material investments by the state.

At the same time, it has been established that, for example, in the United States a 1 percent rise in unemployment increases the deficit of the state budget by \$25 billion [7] and also leads to an increase of 5.7 percent in the number of murders, 4.1 percent for suicides, 4 percent increase for prisoners and 3.5 percent for patients in psychiatric hospitals [3]. Thus, each percentage of unemployment takes significant material means away from the state and contributes an increase in negative social phenomena.

Thus, the problem is to find a solution which would help minimize the social consequences while maximizing the economic and social effectiveness. In other words, it is essential to set an optimum unemployment level. Here again two approaches have been proposed: theoretical and practical. In foreign economics many theories of employment have been created, for example, the theory of employment in the traditional, pre-Keynesian interpretation as proposed by A. Marshall and A. Pigou; theories characteristic of the stage of the "direct response of the neoclassics" to the theory of Keynes (the notion of "real cash balances" of D. Patinkin, the concepts of F.

Modigliani, R. Clower and A. Leyonhowood), as well as theories born in the wave of the "neoclassical rebirth of the 1970s" (the notions of a natural rate of unemployment searches in the labor market and rational expectations) [8].

The theory of the so-called natural level of unemployment has gained the greatest supporters. It was proposed in 1966-1968 by Milton Friedman (a Nobel Prize winner in economics) and over a period of 6-8 years has become a permanent part in the arsenal of modern political economy while in the 1980s it began to be propounded by the textbooks as generally accepted. Its essence is that in each national economy there is a natural level of unemployment whereby the labor and manpower markets are in equilibrium with a stable level of inflation. With a drop in the unemployment level below the natural, inflation begins to rise and this has a lethal effect on the state of the economy. From this the conclusion is drawn that it is essential to maintain unemployment on the natural level which has been set at 6 percent [9].

However, for calculating a natural level it is essential to construct two equations, one of which links the expected increase rate of real wages and the unemployment rate and the other sets the ratio of supply and demand on the labor market [10]. Clearly, for the given indicators dependable statistics is required and at the present we do not possess this. Secondly, many researchers, for example, D. Gordon, argue against two provisions in the theory of the natural level, namely the assertions that over time the natural level has risen from 4 to 6 percent and 6 percent is the natural level [9]. The given circumstances do not make it possible, from our viewpoint, to calculate an optimum unemployment level for our nation relying on the theory of a natural level.

With a practical approach the optimum level is determined proceeding from the practice of state administration. Thus, K. Walsch has pointed out that up to the start of the 1970s, a level of 2 or 3 percent was considered normal and below this it was hard or even undesirable to reduce it [11]. However, here consideration has been given to the experience of one or several specific nations which possess largely an unique specific feature and this does not allow the adoption of it as the standard. Thus, the existing theoretical and practical approaches cannot help us find an answer to the question of what unemployment level must be considered optimum for the USSR under the conditions of a market economy.

From our viewpoint, an attempt can be made to resolve the proposed problem if we employ the tensor methodology used in systems theory [12]. Its essence is that various systems are viewed as the manifestation of a certain abstract generalized system. In terms of our case this means the following. The unemployment level in each country during the given period of time can be viewed as one of the specific realizations of an abstract unemployment level characteristic for the generalized social system of the "world as a whole." The advantage of such an approach is that the optimum unemployment

level for our country can be determined not only by analogy with other countries but also considering the common world trend.

In propounding quantitative hypotheses on the optimum unemployment level in the USSR, we have relied on the theory of social proportions developed by the author [13]. Here are its main provisions. In the first place, in social systems there operate common-system quantitative patterns and in particular the golden mean which reflects entirely, balance and optimum between part and whole. Let us recall that in quantitative terms the golden mean corresponds to a percentage distribution of 61.8:38.2. Secondly, the golden mean serves as the basis for other measures of the optimum in social systems, for example, the so-called Fibonacci series which in quantitative terms looks as follows: 0.1, 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 13...and so forth. And thirdly, the intervals between the numbers in the Fibonacci series reflect different quantitative states in the functioning of the social systems.

Proceeding from the theory of social proportions and the results obtained within the framework of the theory of a natural level, we have proposed that the level of unemployment, as a result of the functioning of the social systems, is subordinate to the common-system quantitative patterns. For this reason, the unemployment levels in the different nations during the various periods of time will most often correspond to the numbers of the Fibonacci series.

For verifying the advanced hypothesis we turned to the international annual on labor statistics for the period from 1955 through 1968 [14]. The choice of precisely this period was determined by the circumstance that there is sufficiently reliable statistics on this for many countries of the world. In accord with the adopted methodology, we calculated the frequency of occurrence for various unemployment levels in the various countries over this period. Since the unemployment levels were derived not as whole numbers but rather with one digit after the decimal, for verification we rounded off the decimals to whole numbers, using the generally accepted rules in mathematics.

As a total 1,084 unemployment levels were analyzed. It turned out that with a general spread from 0.4 to 28 percent, the most frequently encountered were 2, 1, 3 and 5 percent. Since the given values correspond to the initial numbers of the Fibonacci series (1, 2, 3, 5), the hypothesis proposed by us gained solid confirmation. In other words, the most frequently encountered unemployment levels correspond to the common-system quantitative patterns. And as this is the case, proceeding from the theory of social proportions which we mentioned at the outset of the article, the intervals between the numbers in the Fibonacci series will reflect the qualitative states of the social systems.

For confirmation we turned to the theory of long waves in the economy and according to which the period of

1952-1974 was characterized by a long ascent and 1975-198... by a decline [15]. The world unemployment levels calculated by us for these periods showed that with the long rise it is 4.4 percent and with the decline 6.7 percent. Since the obtained values reflect different qualitative states of the social system and are close to the middle of the intervals between the initial numbers of the Fibonacci series, the proposal advanced by us was confirmed. Consequently, the interval between the numbers of the Fibonacci series 3-5 reflects an economic rise and 5-8 a decline.

The analysis made has shown that the interval between the numbers of the Fibonacci series 8-13 reflects an economic crisis. Thus, the average unemployment level in the world in 1982-1983 (a period of economic crisis) was 8.3 percent. At the same time, statistics indicates that in individual countries the fluctuations were significantly stronger. For this reason, a fractional scale is needed. We have created this. We took different countries during that period for which it was precisely known in what state the country was. The unemployment level operated as the indicator of the given state. Here are several examples. In the United States, in 1931 (the year preceding the Great Depression), the unemployment level was 15.9 percent and this approximately equaled the middle of the interval between the numbers of the Fibonacci series of 13-21, and in 1933, at the peak of the Great Depression, this figure reached 24.9 percent, already another interval in the series (21-34). In 1936, during the period of economic increase, an initial level of 16.9 percent was established [16]. Thus, the interval between the numbers of the Fibonacci series 13-21 reflects an acute economic crisis while the interval of 21-34 is a collapse of the existing economic system.

On the contrary, for the countries where the unemployment level declines to an interval of the Fibonacci series of 3-5, there is characteristic rapid economic increase. Here are represented such intensely developing countries as South Korea and Singapore. With an unemployment level of 2-3 percent, the prosperity of the citizens is very high. Presently this is occurring in Japan, Norway and Sweden. From all appearances, the interval of the Fibonacci series of 2-3 reflects a flourishing of society.

As a whole, the scale constructed by us appears as follows: 0-3 percent of unemployment with a flourishing, 3-5 percent for an increase, 5-8 percent for a decline, 8-13 percent for a crisis, 13-21 percent for an acute crisis and 21-34 percent for a collapse of the existing economic system.

Thus, we have established that the initial fragment of the Fibonacci series corresponds to unemployment levels characteristic for different periods in the functioning of social systems. On the other hand, according to the statistical data available to us, we judged the duration of certain periods [14]. It turned out that an unemployment level over 21 percent was observed in the United States, Puerto Rico and Spain for a period of 2-3 years. From this it can be concluded that the state designated by us as

a collapse of the economic system usually lasts around 2 years. An acute crisis in Columbia, Venezuela, Belgium, The Netherlands, Yugoslavia, Samoa and Puerto Rico lasted an average of 3 years, while in Peru, Denmark and Guam, 5 years. A curious detail was the duration of these periods also corresponds to the Fibonacci series. If this is not a random coincidence, then the possibility is open to us of forecasting the duration of various periods for the functioning of social systems. However, special research is needed here.

In returning now to the question posed at the outset of the article, we would answer it as follows: with the thriving of society, an optimum unemployment indicator would be 2 or 3 percent, while an indicator of 3-5 percent shows an increase in the economy. For now, our economy is in a state of decline and with the introduction of market relations at first there most probably will be a state of acute crisis for which the unemployment level will be 13-21 percent for 3 years. In this situation, 13 percent must be recognized as the optimum. The problem is that with the conversion to market relations it is unrealistic to remain at 2-3 percent, as it is impossible to jump across naturally following periods in the development of social systems when these last for over a year and there are differences in the opportunities for society to control unemployment.

For this reason, with 13 percent it is possible most painlessly to enter the following period which, in turn, should open the way to an ascent and prosperity.

Footnote

1. The unemployment level is the share of officially reported unemployed in the total number of persons in hired labor. Certainly this indicator does not take into account all unemployed, but its convenience for the administrative bodies is that it makes it possible to spot those workers who need state aid.

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Return (Repatriation of Deported Peoples)

915D0008E Moscow SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 12, Dec 90 (signed to press 23 Oct 90) pp 59-66

[Article by Emil Abramovich Pain, candidate of historical sciences and expert on the State Committee for the Problem of the Crimean Tatars and consultant on nationality questions for the Center of Independent Expertise of the Soviet-American Culture Initiative Fund. This is the first time he appears in our journal]

[Text] The Declaration "On the Recognition as Illegal and Criminal of the Repressive Acts Against the Peoples Subjected to Violent Resettlement and the Ensuring of Their Rights" adopted in November 1989 by the USSR Supreme Soviet opens the way for a just solution to one of the most acute interethnic problems in the nation [1]. But it is easier to open the way than to move along it.

In comparing the prospects for restoring the rights of three deported peoples and where special commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet were organized for their

problems and including the Crimean Tatars, the Soviet Germans and the Meskhetian Turks, it can be asserted that only the first have any real chance in the next few years to return to their homeland. By the beginning of 1990, over 70,000 Tatars had been resettled into the Crimea, while up to now not a single family of Meskhetian Turks has been relocated in Meskheta (Southern Georgia). Extremely unfavorable conditions have developed in the Volga for the return of the Soviet Germans.

The experience of the Crimea can be employed in determining the ways for resolving the problem of the deported peoples. To a significant degree this determined our interest in the question of the repatriation of the Crimean Tatars.

The article is based on materials from a sociological study carried out under the author's leadership by the Center for Independent Expertise of the Soviet-American Culture Initiative Fund.

The polling of the Crimean Tatars (N = 3,113) was conducted in 1989 in the basic areas of their dwelling (Central Asia and Kazakhstan, Krasnodar Kray, Kherson Oblast and the Crimea). For the indicators characterizing each family member of the polled person (sex, age, education, type of employment), information was processed on more than 13,000 respondents.

The Hard Path Back to the Motherland

The repatriation of the Crimean Tatars began in 1967 immediately after the promulgating of the Ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet "On Citizens of Tatar Nationality Residing in the Crimea" and which lifted from them the unjust, unfounded accusations of aiding the Nazi occupiers. However, regardless of this legislative enactment, innumerable administrative obstacles have survived and only a few have been able to surmount them. Only 18 percent of the Tatars who resided on the peninsula had come back here prior to 1979. Since this time through 1985, the meager trickle of returnees has virtually "dried up," and just several-score families have made their way through the bureaucratic obstacles, some 1.5 percent of the number currently living there. On the other hand, since mid-1987 and particularly after the adoption of the mentioned declaration, the number of settlers has noticeably increased and during the 18 months by 2.5-fold in comparison with the preceding 2 decades, reaching some 50,000.

The Crimea was not prepared for the abrupt shift from a policy of "no admission" to the simultaneous acceptance of such large numbers. The local authorities were planning to receive rural population but predominantly city inhabitants arrived. As a result, what happened was something that the nation has not known in the postwar period where a significant portion of the migrants became rural dwellers. Among those returning, urban dwellers made up 62.1 percent, 53.5 percent wanted to settle in cities and 26.6 percent were able to do this. The fundamental changes in the way of life caused a whole series of problems which the repatriates encountered.

The former urban dwellers encountered serious difficulties in finding work: Only 29 percent were able to find work in their specialty and less than 20 percent were able to hold a position corresponding to their former one. The intelligentsia found it particularly difficult including teachers, physicians and workers in culture and science. Thus, over a third of the physicians could not find any work at all. For very many returnees (73.6 percent), material conditions worsened and the share of families with a low income (to 50 rubles per person) increased by 4.5-fold. The same can be said about the change in living conditions. For example, the share of families with a housing area below the standard minimum after the move increased by 2.2-fold. Moreover, 4.3 percent of those questioned did not have any housing at all and were living with relatives.

In addition to the rudimentary conditions, a large portion of the respondents (56 percent) was unable to relocate the entire family all at once into the Crimea. Some lived away from their families for up to 18 months. But the most significant complications were related to obtaining a plot to build a home. Here, in truth, it should be noted that the various social groups of repatriates took a differing view of the problem of resettling in the Crimea. A predominant majority of the intelligentsia (87.1 percent) considered the main difficulty to be the impossibility of realizing their professional knowledge and because of this they also suffered losses in earnings: fewer—15.5 percent—saw their basic concerns as the obtaining of housing and residence permits. At the same time, among workers 0.4 percent was dissatisfied with the job placement, 33 percent with the reduced earnings and 46.5 percent with difficulties with housing and residence permits. Not a single kolkhoz member mentioned the problem of looking for work, less than 1 percent complained of a drop in income, however in this group there were more persons than the others (49.8 percent) experiencing concern about housing and residence permits.

The research conducted confirms the sincerity of a majority of the settlers who stated that they had come back to the Crimea not for improving their material situation or living conditions but exclusively out of a desire to return home.

Driven by an Idea

As is known, migration intentions are determined by three groups of factors: 1) those "restraining one" in the given place; 2) those "expelling" from it; 3) those "attracting" to the new place. The two last form resettlement urges, the first suppresses them, while the combination of all three establishes the measure of mobility.

The main "expelling" factor for all those polled was an awareness of the compulsory residence outside of the Crimea as a consequence of the violent deportation. Recently this has been intensified by the "Fergana syndrome" or an acute perception of the pogroms instituted against the Meskhetian Turks and fears for oneself.

Hence, the additional impetus to move for the Crimean Tatars, particularly out of Uzbekistan, where the share of persons planning to return to the Crimea is 1.5-fold greater than an average for the studied aggregate.

The factors which restrain mobility—as is shown by our research—in essence are determined by demographic characteristics and primarily by the type of family: by its size, degree of national heterogeneity and by the amount of income. The least mobile are the large families which are mixed in terms of nationality and with an income of under 75 rubles per person as well as persons residing in a state apartment. The latter greatly impedes moving. The apartment cannot be sold and consequently it is impossible to find funds for buying or building a home. Moreover, at present not every person would decide to lead a fully equipped and almost free apartment without the hope of obtaining a new one. At the same time in the Crimea only 5.4 percent of the repatriates received state housing and basically these were persons who arrived in the 1960s.

The Crimean Tatars in their basic mass, as was already pointed out, are not seeking better socioeconomic conditions. They are attracted primarily by something else expressed in the following statements: "All our people will assemble together in the homeland," "Historical justice will be restored," "An opportunity will appear for the rebirth of national culture" and particularly often "I want to return home."

We were interested to what degree this "so to speak 'idealism'" was manifested by them in terms of current circumstances of life outside of the Crimea. We endeavored to compare dissatisfaction with material and domestic aspects, on the one hand, with sociocultural, on the other. And then considering three factors: "With what are you dissatisfied at present?" "What do you expect in the future?" "Are you certain you will be able to achieve your desires after moving to the Crimea?", we established three groups of persons polled, giving them arbitrary titles.

The first group ("optimist idealists") numbered 69 percent. It was dissatisfied chiefly with current sociocultural conditions and felt that by returning to the Crimea they could satisfy their needs. In it was a separate subgroup (18.5 percent) with an expressed domination of ethnocultural orientations such as maintaining the patriarchal traditions, residing in their own national environment, the celebrating of Moslem rites and the restoring of state independence. Virtually all representatives of the group are very religious and over one-half of them is activists in the Crimean ☐ National Movement.

The second group ("pessimist idealists") was 15.4 percent. It also was dissatisfied basically with the sociocultural sphere but did not expect an improvement in the Crimea.

The third group ("pragmatic materialists") numbered 15.6 percent. Here one could clearly observe dissatisfaction with the material aspect of life; it was indifferent or satisfied by the sociocultural conditions.

Theoretically in this group, as among the "idealists," there could also be optimists and pessimists. However, it turned out that the "materialists" did not foster any illusions on realizing their needs in the Crimea. There was nothing surprising in this. A majority of those questioned outside the Crimea (78 percent) showed a good level of information about what awaited them upon return to the homeland. As the basic sources of this information they pointed to already moved relatives and acquaintances.

As for the "idealists," they were ready to give up on comfort for the sake of ideals. For this reason, the level of potential mobility differed among these categories.

Who Will Move to the Crimea?

By combining the groups of features characterizing the intention to move to the Crimean Peninsula,¹ we have established five types of potential repatriates (Table 1).

Table 1: Types of Potential Repatriates

Name of Type	Characteristics of Type	Proportional Amount Among Persons Polled, %
Mobile	Ready to move immediately without any preliminary conditions and when necessary change job and chosen place of residence	15.7
Moderately mobile	Ready to move immediately but do not intend to change profession or give up previously intended place of residence	35.4
Conditionally mobile	Make their return dependent upon various conditions, primarily the granting of material aid	12.2
Immobile	Defer their move for an indefinite time or do not intend to move at all	9.0
Vacillating	Still have not taken decision to move or do not want to (or cannot) give it	27.7

The use of the method of determination analysis made it possible to isolate the most essential features providing a social portrait of each group.²

An analysis has shown that the most significant factor which in essence determines mobility is the ratio of value orientations, both sociocultural and material-domestic.

Thus, in all three groups called mobile (with the adjective and without it) among a predominant majority of respondents, sociocultural and ethnocultural values prevailed. If other factors do not obstruct the sociocultural (ethnocultural) aspirations, then mobility operates in a "pure" form when the action of these factors is in the opposite direction and mobility is complicated by moderateness or conditionality. And here pragmatism and the dominating of material-domestic values in the examined situation, as a rule, correlates with immobility. But let us turn to the social portrait of each of the isolated groups of possible migrants individually.

In addition to the fact that in almost three-quarters of those comprising the group of mobile persons (Table 2), sociocultural features prevail, here are concentrated virtually all respondents with the features of ethnoculture domination. The orientation to return to the Crimea and for the rebirth of national culture is combined with an extremely weak "gravity field" for the former place of residence and high adaptability.

Table 2: Social Portrait of the "Mobile," %

Features	Determination Completeness*
"Optimist idealists"	74.9
Representatives of small families	74.0
Inhabitants of small towns, urban-type settlements and villages	69.6
Owners of individual homes	60.8
Workers and kolkhoz members	54.7

* Determination completeness is an indicator characterizing the proportional amount of respondents who simultaneously possess two features: mobility and another causing mobility. As a result of the sample (on the computer), the table includes features the completeness of which exceeds the set threshold (51 percent).

In their majority these are persons with small families residing in settlements similar to the Crimean ones, as well as workers in universal occupations who will find it easier to find jobs. Moreover, they live in their own homes (the selling of which will provide an opportunity to purchase housing in the new place), the habits of running a private farm and are fully able to feed themselves at first after the move. In a word, it is a question of those capable of surviving in any sociodomestic situation. At the moment of the poll, 3.5 percent had already quit and probably are already now in the Crimea.

In the group of moderately mobile (Table 3), there is a rather strong orientation to national values and this encourages their mobility. At the same time, they have something to lose at their old place: a comparatively high income, a definite social status and the habit of relative comfort in large cities. Mobility is restrained also by specific features of vocations: 36 percent is workers in the nonproduction sphere (physicians, teachers, cultural workers and "managers") who will find it difficult to be employed in the Crimea.

Table 3: Social Portrait of Moderately Mobile, %

Features	Determination Completeness
"Optimist idealists"	71.5
Owners of individual homes and cooperative apartments	65.2
Inhabitants of capitals, oblast centers, large cities	57.8
Workers in mental labor and workers in nonproduction sphere	54.8
Have income over 100 rubles per person	51.3

A difficult combination of "attractive," "restraining" and "expelling" factors determines the unique line of conduct for this group. It can be formulated in the following manner: "To go immediately but upon arrival to find one's place, that is, work in one's specialty and housing in a city." Such a position turns the group into a potentially very conflictogenic one.

In terms of its sociocultural and ethnocultural orientations, the group of conditionally mobile (Table 4) is close to the group of mobile without stipulation. They are also similar in terms of place of residence, predominantly in small towns. However, the clear prerequisites for mobility are overlapped by the restraining factors: the large size and multiple generations of the families as well as the highest proportional amount of single parents with children or with elderly relatives (16.7 percent). The low income and simply poverty make them precisely in need of state help for returning to the motherland.

Table 4: Social Portrait of Conditionally Mobile, %

Features	Determination Completeness
"Optimist idealists"	75.3
Inhabitants of small towns, urban-type settlements and villages	70.6
Representatives of complex, multigenerational families	70.0
Have income under 75 rubles per person	66.9

We feel that the crucial factor of immobility for the group whose features are shown in Table 5 is the weak focus on ethnocultural values. This factor, in turn, correlates with one other feature: the highest share, in comparison with the other groups, of nationally mixed families, including those where the husband does not belong to the Crimean Tatar nationality. Here also there is a high share of persons occupying state apartments and this also greatly fetters mobility.

Table 5: Social Portrait of Immobile, %

Features	Determination Completeness
Urban dwellers	58.5
"Pessimist idealists" and "pragmatists"	52.0
Live in state apartments	51.2
Representatives of nationally mixed families	37.5

Table 6: Social Portrait of Vacillators, %

Features	Determination Completeness
Urban dwellers	78.7
Workers and white collar personnel	73.5
Live in state apartments	57.4
Have income over 75 rubles person	51.6

The distinguishing features in the social make-up of the group of vacillators (Table 6) are just as indefinite and "eroded" as are its migration plans. The ethnocultural orientations are diverse: a comparatively large proportional amount is made up of respondents whom could be characterized as "ethnoculturally concerned pessimists" (19.4 percent) and "pragmatists" (11.6 percent) and the expressers of other trends cannot be classified according to the given features. Of the factors which restrict mobility, we would mention only the high share of persons living in urban state apartments. There are no grounds to assume that these people do not intend at all to return to the Crimea. More probably they will wait and see how the situation changes there and obviously will move under the condition of receiving a state apartment or a loan for purchasing a cooperative one.

Prohibitions Will Not Help

The rate of the migrational increase during the first half of 1990 rose sharply. The uncontrolled flood of settlers (by 1996, their number certainly will reach 330,000-350,000) can exacerbate the socioeconomic problems of the Crimea and complicate interethnic relations. This can be seen from the results of a poll conducted by Crimean sociologists [3]. The local authorities are concerned. Along with the fact that there has been a noticeable growth of the oblast population (with the maintaining of the former deliveries of food, industrial goods and building materials), its social composition has also changed. While initially basically workers and kolkhoz members arrived, in recent months there has been an increasing share of intelligentsia. It has greater dissatisfaction with the living conditions in the new place and places greater demands on the state bodies. The latter endeavor to overcome the arising difficulties by the

customary administrative methods of stiffening the passport conditions and, most importantly, limiting the allocating of plots of land to the settlers for individual construction.

Over the 45 years of their ordeal, the Crimean Tatars have grown accustomed not to trust the authorities. And now, when they see that the very plots which yesterday were handed out without obstruction must now be fought for, the impression arises among them of a "banging door" with the people hurrying to "slip through the slot." The increased pace of settlement is also to be explained by the unusual (by 2- or 3-fold) rise in the cost of building housing in the Crimea and by the simultaneous drop in prices for houses in Central Asia. A person who is late in moving today risks tomorrow to spend all his savings in acquiring a roof over his head. There is one other factor which fosters the resettlement process and this is that a majority of the Crimean Tatars has their own "ambassadors" (relatives and acquaintances) in this promised land and because of this many of them live there without permission. Around 11 percent did not have a permit at the moment of the poll, and another 80 percent lead a precarious existence from 6 months to 3 years waiting for the opportunity to receive their permit. Those without permits do not have any protection from the authorities but, in turn, they are not controlled by them. Need it be said that such limitations substantially heat up the social atmosphere.

We have not endeavored to find any universal formula for resolving the problems of the deported peoples and we are scarcely claiming that such a formula exists at all. However, an analysis of what has been related to the return of the Crimean Tatars makes it possible to outline certain general principles in an approach to these problems. The first such principle can be formulated on the basis of the well-known statement by Lenin: "Don't dare command." Command methods of administration have shown their uselessness in a majority of spheres of life but are particularly inadmissible in such a delicate sphere as nationality policy. Shouting, prohibitions and restrictive provisions are not only morally inadmissible but, as a rule, are totally ineffective.

Just take controlling the influx of migrants. Judging from the polls, some of them were ready to wait a year or two in moving under the condition of guarantees for the providing of an apartment or a plot to build and for the establishing of new jobs. Precisely the policy of guarantees can become an effective tool in repatriating the population.

However, it must be pointed out that the credit of trust in the authorities at present is generally small. This is particularly so among the repressed peoples. It is no accident that the Crimean Tatars consider reliable only the guarantees deriving from the leaders of their national movement.

From this stems one other general principle for nationality policy: a solution to the major problems of one or

another people should be entrusted to the most authoritative representatives of the ethnic community.

The concretization of this principle demands that the organizations of the Crimean Tatar National Movement be granted real economic and political powers in controlling the process of the return and settlement of the migrants.

Certainly one of the fundamental principles in nationality policy has been and remains the principle of voluntariness. It is possible to direct the flow of repatriates toward the less inhabited and still not so attractive steppe regions of the Crimea, utilizing economic levers of management. In this zone it would be important to introduce tax benefits, reduce the cost of building housing and raise its comfort.

Finally, in nationality policy, there should be a principle of mutual interest. If the return of the Crimean Tatars was linked to the granting of administrative-political and economic independence to the Crimea, to reducing the exporting of the basic building materials from here, to an improvement in supply, then everyone would feel that the arrival of migrants does not worsen but, on the contrary, somehow improves living conditions in the oblast. Moreover, among the Crimean Tatars there are many builders and the creation of new construction organizations and cooperatives with their participation will benefit both the migrants as well as the remaining inhabitants of the peninsula.

The process of resettlement of course needs ideological support and here it is essential to destroy the "image of the enemy" and provide an opportunity for dialogue between the different groups of the Crimean population.

Footnotes

1. The persons polled were asked "Under what conditions would you move to the Crimea?" The sample replies were: "Without preliminary conditions," "Only in lifting the limitations on residence permits," "Only if in addition material aid would be provided (travel allowances would be provided)," "When in addition to monetary aid a plot was provided for construction and help with building materials," and "Only in providing an apartment or house."

2. Determination analysis is a system of computer processing qualitative socioeconomic information, for example, the data of a questionnaire poll. It helps to determine the importance of features which determine the examined social properties, in our instance, mobility [2].

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Justice and Public Consumption Funds

915D0008F Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE
ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 12, Dec 90 (signed to
press 23 Oct 90) pp 66-72

[Article by Vladimir Fedorovich Anurin, candidate of philosophical sciences and docent at the Gorkiy Higher Party School. Our journal has published his article "Deposit Secrets" (No 2, 1988)]

[Text] The problem of social justice occupies an enormous place in current publications which analyze that clump of contradictions which our society has encountered. In terms of its concept, precisely socialism should become the embodiment of social justice due to the fact that its socioeconomic mechanisms, its political and legal views should ensure equal rights of all members in society to labor and the obtaining of remuneration commensurate with the labor expenditures. This was a widespread viewpoint which was held for a long time not only by Soviet but also foreign researchers. Thus, the American political scientist, Charles Lindblom, sees the specific feature of communist regimes in the fact that they exchange liberty and economic prosperity for a leveling of economic opportunity for all members of society. The capitalist nations have chosen freedom and economic prosperity, sacrificing equality: "egalitarian and humanitarian views distinguished the communist ideas since the 19th Century, when the search for freedom and equality initiated during the age of enlightenment followed different paths. The democrats moved to the right in the search for freedom. The communists headed to the left in the search for equality" [3].

How can justice and equality be correlated? For socialism, this formula states, as is known, that there should be equal remuneration and equal social prestige for an equal labor contribution. There is no need to prove again that in reality this ideal was not to be so embodied. Although certainly there was no lack of good intentions. The establishing of the public consumption funds was among the most triumphantly proclaimed promises.

The public consumption funds are the portion of aggregate national income channeled into social security, social insurance, for satisfying the social priority needs of all members of society (for education, public health, maternity and childhood, for recreation, housing and so

forth). According to the current CPSU Program, they should "mitigate the differences objectively inevitable under socialism in the material situation of individual citizens, families and social groups, equalize the socioeconomic and cultural conditions for raising children and contribute to eliminating the reduced prosperity of individual groups of the population (emphasis mine.—V.A.)" [2].

For now, let us overlook the rather unpleasant fact that at present it is better to speak about the prosperity of individual groups and the lack of prosperity for a majority of the population. Let us focus attention only on how the program declares the main principle in using the PCF [public consumption funds]: the basic recipients of the goods from this source should be the poorly-off citizens. That is the case in theory. But practice shows that the cherished equality (or even something like it) again remains unattainable.

In the first place, on the "macrolevel" the PCF are centrally formed and distributed between the national economic sectors. Hence, there is an inevitable inequality in the receiving of them by labor collectives belonging to the priority or secondary ones (let us add that the degree of priority is determined by the center at its discretion): they simply receive unequal shares in dividing up the portion of the state budget allocated for social needs. "To whom does the lion's share go for the money of the public consumption funds? To those workers in the priority sectors and the rich departments. How is this expressed? In particular, in the fact that the quality of medical services in an ordinary rayon hospital, for example, is incomparable with services in a departmental medical facility. Is it just that strata of the population not employed in these priority sectors have fewer opportunities for treatment and for maintaining their health?" [4]

Secondly, inequality can arise due to the fact that those members of society or of a labor collective which perform managerial functions (and for this reason are involved, as a rule, in the allocation of the funds) appropriate for themselves a larger share, in scarcely being considered as among the poorly-off in so doing.

In order to back up our assertions, we have taken the data for a number of enterprises belonging to different departments in order on their basis to disclose the definite patterns of this property. We have studied the collectives at the Orbita Plant (Ministry of Electronics Industry), the gearbox plant which is part of the association AvtoGAZ [Gorkiy Automotive Plant] (Ministry of Automotive and Agricultural Machine Building) and the head enterprise of the Gorkiy Production Hosiery Association (Ministry of Light Industry). The sources of information include: statistical reports; lists of persons waiting for housing; the minutes of sessions of the trade union committees for allocating apartments; the report logs for issuing trips to sanatoriums, vacation homes and boarding houses. It was our task to group those workers whose names figured in the lists. The classification

consisted in allocating the enterprise workers in a number of groups in accord with the relationships of leadership and subordination, beginning from the workers of all professions and ending with the superior echelon of managers: the director and his deputies, the chief specialists, the party committee secretary, the trade union chairman and his deputies. Without taking up the procedural and methodological details, let us note certain particular features.

In the first place, we obtained sufficient data confirming the supposition of the uneven allocation of the PCF to the various departments, in any event that portion of them tied to housing and leisure. While the Hosiery Association (PChTO) in 1987-1989 received 19 apartments¹ and the Orbita Plant received 78, the employees of the gearbox plant in the same period received 338 apartments. In being normed (that is, reduced to the number of enterprise employees), these figures were 0.01 for the PChTO and Orbita and 0.08 for the gearbox plant. In 1988, trips to sanatoriums, vacation homes and boarding houses were provided as follows: for the PChTO 111 (8.9 percent of the total number of workers), for the Orbita Plant 728 (11 percent), and for the gearbox plant 1,153 (27.7 percent).

Let us now take a look to see how our second hypothesis is confirmed concerning the dependence of the allocation of the funds at the enterprise itself upon employee rank. Let us turn to Table 1 where the allocation of housing is shown by worker categories. As 100 percent in each line we have used not the total number of employees in the given category but those waiting for housing.

Table 1: Distribution of Housing (in % of number of workers of given category waiting on list)

Enterprise	Workers	Regular Engineers, Technicians	Shop Chiefs	Upper Echelon of Leadership
PChTO	3.1	8.1	6.6	50.0
Orbita Plant	8.4	8.5	100	70.0
Gearbox plant	45.1	40.0	100	100

Generally, interesting things can be discovered on the waiting lists. For example, the period of waiting for an apartment for the superior leadership of the enterprises (including the shop chiefs and the leaders of the general plant services) rarely exceeds 3-5 years. But the basic mass of workers, the regular engineers, technicians and white collar personnel can be on the list for 10, 15 or even 20 years. Here it turns out that the share of leaders of various ranks on the list is significantly higher than workers of other categories. At the same Orbita Plant, 20 percent of the leaders of the interior shop subdivisions were on the list for obtaining an apartment, 27 percent of the leaders of the upper echelon and only 8 percent of the workers. So the impression might be gained that the

leaders are more in need of housing than the others. Or possibly they possess a higher level of claims?

The allocation of trips in 1988, at least at first glance, does not contain such obvious discrimination (Table 2).

Table 2: The Receiving of Trips for Leisure (in % of total number in each category of workers)

Enterprise	Workers	Regular Engineers, Technicians	Shop Chiefs	Upper Echelon of Leadership
PChTO	6.2	12.1	16.0	6.2
Orbita Plant	6.5	11.3	15.4	72.2
Gearbox plant	13.7	13.4	19.5	30.4

However, here as well there is a number of fine points which could not be shown in the table. In the first place, we learned that the superior bodies set standards for the trade union committees for the number of trips for the workers. For this reason the indicators for availability are rather high: 59 percent at the gearbox plant, 61 at Orbita and over 69 percent at the PChTO. The reports of the trade union committee show precisely these figures. But the table could not provide any notion of the quality of leisure, such as diet, possibilities for medical treatment, comfort, geography, let alone the season in which the trip was provided. Incidentally, among the distributions shown there was no reflection of tourist trips as well as trips to their own recreational facilities the demand for which was rather fully satisfied.

Not without interest is the following point. Each year, the gearbox plant is sent a joint resolution by the general director and the trade union committee of the GAZ Association "On the Procedure for Allocating and Issuing Trips to Sanatoriums and Vacation Homes Received From the Sociocultural Funds." Point 22 of this decree states: "The issuing of trips to sanatoriums and vacation homes to the leadership of the motor vehicle plant and the association's plants is carried out in accord with the list of the officials approved by a joint decision of the general director and trade union committee of GAZ." This list includes the director, his deputies, the chief specialists and the shop chiefs (that is, those who are shown in the last two columns of our tables). The trips for them are low-cost and are paid for not out of the social insurance money but rather from the general plant funds formed from the profit.

The place held on the official ladder also tells on the geography of recreation. Thus, at the gearbox plant in 1988, 13 percent of the leaders had their vacations "in the south" and only 1.5 percent of the workers. The boarding houses of the Electronics Ministry (Kislovodsk and Sochi) were visited by 9.5 percent of the shop chiefs and a little more than 1 percent of the workers from the Orbita Plant.

Thus, on the one hand, our data do not confirm the opinion prevailing in the ordinary mind that according to openly or covertly existing standards each year trips for the enterprises are planned figuring one trip for every 100 workers [5]. On the other hand, they do show that the share received from the PCF is directly related to the position held by the employee on the job ladder and the inequality here is in no way in favor of the regular members of the collective.

Such inequality cannot help but show up in public opinion. At the same enterprises, in parallel with studying the documentation, questionnaire polls were conducted in the course of which they were asked to assess according to a 5-point scale (from 5 or "completely satisfied" to 1 or "completely unsatisfied") various aspects in the life of the collective.² Among all else it was proposed that they also assess the observance of the principles of social justice in the allocating of benefits from the public consumption funds. The average assessments are shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Assessing Degree of Justice in Allocation of Social Goods (in points)

Enterprise	Housing	Trade Union Trips
PChTO	2.0	2.5
Orbita Plant	1.6	2.1
Gearbox plant	2.3	2.7

It is not hard to see that the lowest assessments were at the Orbita Plant. If we return to Table 1, then the figures would not cause any surprise. Why then at the PChTO are the judgments of social justice higher, although the supply of housing is not better and at times even worse? Clearly, it is entirely a question that they were asked to judge satisfaction not with the receiving of housing but rather the justice of its distribution. In this sense, the gap between the ordinary workers and the leaders at the PChTO is substantially less. If the situation at the mill is bad for housing, then it should be equally bad for all—in approximately this manner we could formulate the viewpoint of public opinion on this score.

How do they assess the possibility of influencing the solving of production and social questions (that is, to what degree is there the same justice in the distribution of various goods)? This is shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Level of Satisfaction With Possibility of Influencing the Solution to Production and Social Questions (in points)

Enterprise	On Level of Enterprise as a Whole	On Level of Shop, Department
PChTO	1.9	2.4
Orbita Plant	1.7	2.1
Gearbox plant	1.8	2.1

As can be seen, here as well there is no particular optimism. However, here it can be said, in our view, that there is a growing level of social activeness. In actuality, satisfaction or dissatisfaction can be experienced only over what actually concerns or disturbs one. We cannot help but point out that many generally refuse to answer, referring to difficulties (from 9 to 12 percent at Orbita and the gearbox plant and from 16 to 20 percent at the PChTO). Here there are two explanations. In the first place, participation in decision taking is of interest to far from everyone and, secondly, many simply cannot imagine how such participation is expressed.

There is an approach which does link the notions of justice and the possibility of participating in management. This is the level of glasnost and information available to the workers. Table 5 shows the views of such a level of informing the personnel.

Table 5: Average Number of Points for Assessing Satisfaction With Degree of Information

	Administration	Party Committee (Party Buro)	Plant Trade Union Committee
PChTO	2.2	2.0	2.2
Orbita Plant	1.8	2.2	2.1
Gearbox Plant	1.8	1.9	2.0

Among the extensive list of the shortage which, unfortunately, continues growing, one can feel with particular acuteness the shortage of justice. However, let us refrain from falling into an accusatory frame of mind and from immediately heading off to search for the specific guilty parties. I feel that a situation where the lion's share of goods goes in no way to the neediest is universally spread in our country. The explanation is rather simple: as there is not enough for everyone and since there are many more poorly-off,³ then those standing "at the trough with a bucket" might reason as follows: "With such a crowd you could not even wet your lips so it is better to help yourself...." Here it should be added that any discussions about justice are apt only where there is something to divide. Understandably when an enterprise receives two apartments a year, one of them inevitably goes to one of the leaders (this can always be explained by the requirements of production); but if there are a hundred, more remain for simple mortals.

To divide crumbs equally is, let us admit, a hopeless prospect. K. Marx, in disclosing the nature of leveling communism, wrote that such communism is "only the generalization and completion of this relation (of private property—V.A.)...the dominance of material property over it is so great that it will endeavor to destroy everything that, on the principles of private property cannot be possessed by all.... It has (primitive communism—V.A.) a definite limited measure. That such abolishing of private property is in no manner a real appropriation of it can be seen precisely from the abstract denying of the entire world of culture and civilization.

from the return to the *unnatural* simplicity of the *poor* primitive man without needs who has not only not risen above the level of private property but has not even grown up to it" [1].

Bewitched by official homilies, we for a long time persuaded not only the entire world but chiefly ourselves that while we might live humbly we still lived in equality! This was achieved by providing a "higher level of the collective, social solution to the problem of satisfying needs" [7]. As one can understand, it was a question of the same public consumption funds. But how is it possible to provide a higher level if in terms of the share of the PCF in the gross national product we lag significantly behind the developed nations of the world? For example, in 1987, the share of them in the GNP of our nation was around 20 percent and in the United States 28.5 [6]. The lead is seemingly insignificant, however if one considers the almost double lead of the per capita GNP in the United States, the picture is rather gloomy.

The American political scientists, Thomas R. Dye and Harmon Zeigler, in working on a review of literature devoted to international research on the problems of property inequality (a subject which has old traditions in Western sociology and until recently has been virtually banned in our country), in particular, reach the following conclusion: "Equality is above all the result of economic development and not of the political system" [8]. We feel that the logic of such a speculation (founded, we would point out, not on ideological premises but rather on numerous statistical facts) to a sufficient degree corresponds to the cornerstone of Marxism, the materialistic understanding of history.

Footnotes

1. Not counting distribution and redistribution of rooms in the old communal apartments.
2. As a total we questioned 216 persons at the PChTO, 354 at the Orbita Plant and 460 at the gearbox plant. The sampling is a nest one.
3. According to the data of A. Zaychenko, the proportional amount of poor in the socioproperty pyramid of the USSR is 86.5 percent [6].

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Have We Begun to Live Better?

915D00086 Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 12, Dec 90 (signed to press 23 Oct 90) pp 73-75

[Article by Galina Nikolayevna Sokolova, doctor of philosophical sciences and department head at the Institute for Philosophy and Law of the Belorussian Academy of Sciences. She is a permanent contributor to our journal]

[Text] In 1986-1989, within the all-Union research (under the aegis of the Academy of Social Sciences Under the CPSU Central Committee), we studied the formation of economic awareness among the workers of a number of Belorussian enterprises. The work was carried out under the leadership of the author following a single instrumentarium and a single sample aggregate representing the general with an error of not more than +3 percent. It seemed natural that the forming of new thinking should be influenced by the abandoning of old stereotypes and the orientation to new ideas. However, the economic situation in the nation and the region did not dispose our respondents toward optimistic views. Only 7.7 percent (in 1986) and 4.6 percent (in 1989) of the workers felt that the situation had changed for the better; 31.1 and 41.9, respectively, did not see any changes; 38.8 and 31.6 percent felt that there had been a deterioration. The remainder (around 20 percent) found it hard to reply. It must be assumed that these assessments were influenced not only by the real state of affairs but also to a significant degree by the nature of the measures being undertaken by the party and soviet bodies. For example, the very fact of discussing draft laws concerning property, land and leasing, the tax system and the socialist enterprise could have a favorable influence on the mood of the people. On the other hand, the imbalance of the market, the absence of high quality and accessible goods and services, increased prices in the aggregate with alarming announcements by the press contributed to growing mistrust of the perestroika processes. Some 27.2 percent of the workers felt that their life had deteriorated in recent years, 58.4 percent felt it had not changed and only 13 percent noted an improvement (the remainder found it hard to answer).

It is clear that in 1989, our respondents were in a poorer situation than in 1986. This alarmed them and focused attention on the problem of justice in the distribution of social goods and the adequacy of wages to the labor contribution. In defining the prospects for the nation's economic development, 3.1 percent assumed that there would be an improvement in a year or two, 37.5 percent put this off to 3-5 years, 14.7 percent felt the situation would not change, 13.9 percent felt it would deteriorate and 26.2 percent found it hard to reply.

The change in the economic situation at their enterprises was viewed by the workers more favorably than as a whole for the nation. This was noticed by 19.5 percent of the respondents, 51.9 percent were inclined to consider it stable, 6.7 percent found it deteriorating and approximately 20 percent found it hard to reply. However, it is lamentable that the improvement in conditions in the organization of labor which commenced in 1986 did not undergo further development. In 1986, the workers virtually did not notice changes in the wages and in 1989, these had risen for 40 percent. Nevertheless, one-half of those polled did not correlate the quality of their labor with this indicator.

Thus, the workers identified the positive changes at the enterprises primarily with increased wages and they judged the deterioration in the economic situation in the nation from the paucity of the commodity market. The designated contradiction was created due to the fact that the industrial enterprises, without having any competitors on the market, could virtually without control set prices for their products. Their increase made it possible to raise wages but a real commodity cover for the money was lacking. A situation arose where a gain for the individual enterprises meant a loss for the economy of the nation, the region and, ultimately, again for each worker. And so it happened that in earning, a person assesses the economic situation at his enterprise affirmatively, but without being able to realize what he has earned in purchasing the essential goods, he considers the economic situation in the nation deteriorating.

How was this contradiction reflected in the behavior of people? The production collective, the wages of whom rose felt that it was working well and making a significant contribution to the development of the nation's economy and satisfying the needs of society. However, life was not improving and hence, the person felt, someone else was working poorly and as a result of this the positive effect of his labor was lost. Inevitably it was concluded that the guilty party for all of this was the managerial personnel which consumed everything created by the labor of the workers. It was merely a question of reducing (or forcing out) the management and all problems would be settled.

But in fact, things were not so simple. Clearly, it was impossible to take and abolish the management, it was essential to alter qualitatively its functions and this would lead to a significant reduction in personnel. At present, instead of seeking out an optimum solution to

the problem, there is the artificial fanning of hostility between the workers, the leaders and the specialists. This is a fact established by numerous sociological and sociopsychological studies. It is perfectly obvious that such a path cannot be considered the optimum. If we follow it then we will begin to seek out guilty parties, for instance, in the production collectives of other sectors or among those which have converted to new relations (for example, leasing or cooperative).

The poll made it possible to ascertain a rather contradictory opinion among the workers concerning such phenomena in economic life as lease relations, individual labor activities and cooperatives. Some 36 percent replied affirmatively about a lease, but here only 16.7 percent expressed a desire to work under the new conditions. On the contrary, only 10.5 percent expected great benefit from individual labor activity while 13.5 percent would like to participate in it. Even more indicative was the opinion on cooperatives: 2.6 percent and 22.4 percent, respectively. Clearly, personal interest moves to the forefront here.

The discrepancy between the assessment of the social importance of lease and cooperative relations and a desire to work under such conditions is engendered by the absence of sufficient information. How can one participate in work under direct contracts? How can a sector, shop or enterprise be leased? How can an inferior unit be converted to self-financing? How should the labor collective council collaborate with the management of the shop or plant? Magazines, newspapers and books have tried to provide the answers. However, the situation leaves much to be desired over the question of "what is to be done?" In the opinion of the workers, only results and general provisions have been examined, that is, so and so converted to such a form and received such a result. The lack of economic information which puts the workers and managerial personnel under equal conditions forces one to give some thought to studying the rudiments of political economy through a system of real political economic studies.

A situation has arisen when people, in assessing the advantages of one or another form in the organization of labor, basically rely not on their own experience but on official views offered by the mass information media. Consequently, such a progressive form as leasing has not been sufficiently propagandized by our press. Cooperatives are established in focusing on high earnings. In the given instance, the social utility and individual gain of the lease and the cooperative become contradictory. In assessing the situation from the viewpoint of state interests, the workers are convinced that precisely lease relations are capable of aiding the economy while cooperatives rather bring harm. However, in being put in a situation of choice, the people put personal gain in the forefront and for this reason the cooperative was more attractive. The obtained results indicate that in forming a new system of moral and material incentives, it is essential to rely on an entire range of incentives, having

put at the base the principle of material interest and about which we were for so long shamefully silent.

In the course of perestroika, when new principles of social policy are being worked out, it is quite natural to have disruptions in the stable operation of the production collectives and if these assume an extended nature, the consequences can be lethal for the national economy. Let us turn to the figures. While in 1986, mismanagement as a frequent phenomenon was noted by 30 percent, and by 50 percent as sometimes occurring, in 1989, the figures were 45 percent and 44 percent of the respondents. In 1986, 46 percent of the workers were able to respond affirmatively to the question of whether they considered themselves to be the masters of production, while in 1989, the figure was just 7.2 percent; 11 and 7.5 percent considered that there were equal numbers of good managers and wasteful persons; 23 and 68.4 percent felt that there were few real managers; 18 and 19.8 percent found it difficult to reply. Clearly, among the most developed and critically thinking workers there has been a certain reassessment of values. Up to 40 percent of them have realized that they actually do not possess the real, officially declared powers and have given serious thought to this.

What is happening in reality? The number of workers who fully realize their abilities in production activities over the designated period virtually was unchanged: 46 percent in 1986 and 44.5 percent in 1989; those realizing them not fully were 40 and 42.2 percent, respectively. At the same time, in 1986, 57 percent could have worked better than at present and in 1989, 41.9 percent, that is, precisely those who do not fully realize their opportunities. In other words, the situation on the level of a person's realizing of his abilities and his labor potential over the 3 years virtually did not change. There was an outburst of emotion at the beginning of perestroika, there were heightened expectations for rapid changes and then disappointment set in.

Where do the obstacles lie? Primarily (from the 1989 views) efficient work is prevented by the old, worn-out equipment (46 percent of the replies), unsteady production and failures in the supply of materials (43.2 percent), poor sanitary-hygiene conditions and low wages (up to 30 percent). These aspects of production virtually do not depend upon the workers. They can and do try to actively influence other components of the production process, namely: an improvement in the quality of labor (47.6 percent), a rise in labor discipline (32.9 percent), an increase in labor productivity and better relations in the collective (respectively, 24.7 percent and 26.2 percent). However, here as well far from everything is in order. Seemingly, the labor collective councils hold the cards but their work is viewed as more than meager. Only 6.7 percent considered the activities of the councils to be beneficial, 74.8 percent do not feel this way, while 11.6 percent found it hard to reply. The forms of work in the labor collective councils as yet do not evoke interest among a majority of the workers.

Success in restructuring economic awareness depends, as are indicated by the data from the 1989 research, upon developing in the workers an attitude of being in control of production (55.4 percent), upon increasing material interest (53 percent), developing economic literacy (48.2 percent), improving skills (38.6 percent), arousing initiative (37.3 percent) and developing moral convictions (31.3 percent). The results would be all the better the fewer the discrepancies between word and deed noted by the workers.

Clearly, the increased amount of unfulfilled promises having risen by 2-or 3-fold over the 3 years has been caused to some degree by the unpreparedness of the production collectives for the perestroika processes and by the inevitability of proceeding by trial and error. This, however, does not justify either the administration or the public organizations which willingly or not have helped to discredit the ideas of perestroika. It is essential that the practices of management and self-management actually destroy the stereotypes of yesterday. Only direct involvement of all in solving complex problems can develop the feeling of being the boss, provide a substantial increase in economic knowledge and emancipate the social potential of the working class.

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Approaches to Migration Policy Under Perestroika Conditions

915D0008H Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 12, Dec 90 (signed to press 23 Oct 90) pp 82-87

[Article by Galina Fedorovna Morozova, candidate of economic sciences and senior science associate at the Sociology Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Our journal has published her articles: "Attempt at Sociological Investigation of Migration of the Population in the Far East" (No 2, 1976, co-author, and "Is There a Labor Surplus in Central Asia?" (No 6, 1989)]

[Text] The profound processes of perestroika in all the spheres of our life have given rise to problems which require study, analysis and the creating of new concepts. Among these a special place is held by migration as this performs a significant role in carrying out economic, social and national economic tasks.

The radical changes in the structure of the federative system of the nation and in the relations between the center and the Union republics, the abandoning of the command-administrative system, the converting to a market economy, the proclaiming of sovereignty by a number of republics, on the one hand, the growth of unemployment, the exacerbating of interethnic conflicts and the increasing number of refugees, on the other, have forced us to give serious thought to the possibility of using the old migration policy, its methods, directions and forms under the new conditions.

However, it is scarcely possible to adapt the arsenal of migration policy from the age of stagnation to today's requirements. It is important to have an objective analysis of the migration processes engendered by *perestroika*. It is essential to correlate these with the socio-economic situation in the nation and in light of the current tasks determine which areas of migration policy are promising and should undergo further development, which forms and methods must be decisively abandoned, which under the conditions of the radical changes could be employed but with adjustment for the new times. In other words, there must be a new concept of migration policy which would be determined by the altered economic, political and social conditions both within the republics and in the nation as a whole.

Internal migration which comprised the basis of migration policy has evoked serious doubts. Under the conditions of the command-administrative system, it corresponded exclusively to the interests of production while the population (in particular, the labor force) was merely a passive component in the migration process. In accord with this, the economy of the regions and the Union republics was organized as a raw material source for one or another purpose. The rigid demands of the all-Union division of labor envisaged the locating of the sectors and the forming of production specialization of the regions, as a rule, without any consideration of their sociodemographic, national-territorial and natural features. The filling out of the labor force was carried out by a territorial or intersectoral redistribution using directive instructions. In this manner there was formed a "resource approach" to man and this led to disproportions in the republics between the volume of the labor resources and the number of jobs, thereby exacerbating the problem of employment and causing unplanned migration flows. This, in turn, became one of the reasons for the territorial imbalance in the labor resources for the nation as a whole.

The ensuing tasks of migration policy came down, in the first place, to activating the migration mobility of the immobile population (the Central Asian Republics); secondly, to increasing the survival level of new settlements in areas of intensive economic development (Siberia, the Far East, North); thirdly, to stabilizing the rural population (the regions of Central Russia). The very positing of these tasks was caused by the need to reduce the level of the labor surplus in some regions and provide manpower for others. For solving them, migration was carried out in organized and unorganized forms. In the existing practices the directly planned forms included: the organized recruitment of manpower, agricultural resettlements, public appeals, sending for studies and the distribution of specialists.

We would draw the attention of the reader to the fact that the migration policy realized through the organized forms over all the years of existence of the administrative methods of managing the economy was ineffective. Moreover, enormous material and moral losses accompanied it.

For reducing the level of the labor surplus in a number of republics such a channel as interrepublic migration was employed. Reports indicate that the established directive quotas for migration through the organized recruitment of manpower and agricultural resettlements could not be realized in the planned volume due to the reticence of the indigenous population to leave its republic.

Here are two examples for the Central Asian Region. In 1985, the share of persons of indigenous nationality among the labor force being sent to other republics by organized recruitment was: 2.6 percent for Kirghizia, 7.5 percent for Tajikistan, 17 percent for Uzbekistan and 27 percent for Turkmenia [1]. The persons of nonindigenous nationality basically left and these were highly skilled personnel. Such a form of migration policy not only did not produce the planned results but caused side phenomena: the Central Asian republics lost the skilled workers essential for them.

The second example. A survey¹ conducted in 1987 among the inhabitants of Tajikistan arriving under agricultural resettlement in the rural localities of Khabarovsk Kray disclosed that among the settlers only 1/4 was made up of Tajiks, Uzbeks, Turkmen, Kirghiz and representatives of other nationalities living in Central Asia. Here out of the total number of settlers from Tajikistan, only 14 percent was single-nationality families (Tajik, Turkmen, Uzbek and other) [2]. More than 2/3 of the settlers were Russians, Ukrainians and Belorussians. As we see, this form of migration policy did not eliminate the problem of employing persons of the indigenous nationality of the Central Asian Republics in previous years. It particularly must not be employed for solving the problems caused by *perestroika*. The organized recruitment and agricultural resettlement are impossible under the conditions of the exacerbation of interethnic conflicts. With the rapid growth of firms, joint enterprises and intermediate organizations we cannot know who is to carry out the organized recruitments and agricultural resettlements and in what manner. Moreover, at present contractual relations are developing with foreign firms. Clearly, a new migration policy should be based on those promising forms for resolving the acute problems.

Concrete results have also not been gained by sending the young or the indigenous nationality for study in other republics of the nation. Migration policy should assist in solving several problems simultaneously: reducing the number of unemployed youth of the indigenous nationality, training nationality personnel, and diverting a portion of the unemployed, able-bodied population into other republics. But not one of these has been carried out, since the organized migration flows in terms of their scale have been insignificant and did not correspond to the directive assignments. Thus, in 1981-1985, each year some 1,800-2,000 persons were sent from Tajikistan to schools of the RSFSR, while a total of 4,000 persons were sent from Turkmenia during the designated period

[3-4]. But at the places of instruction there has simultaneously been the reverse flow of youth from the indigenous Central Asian nationalities. Thus, of the 2,707 young persons sent in 1987 from Tajikistan to the RSFSR PTU [vocational-technical school], one out of every third returned home [5]. The significant return of persons of the Central Asian nationalities was caused by the poor general education preparation, by linguistic difficulties, by the undeveloped demand for new types of labor activity and so forth.

Thus, the organized forms of migration policy under the conditions of the command-administrative system were ineffective. All the more under modern conditions they must be decisively abandoned.

It is impossible to imagine today, in the situation of interethnic tension, that several hundred persons through the system of organized recruitment or agricultural resettlement could migrate from one republic to another even with vacant jobs there (for example, from Armenia to Azerbaijan, from the RSFSR to Lithuania or Tajikistan, from Uzbekistan to Kirghizia). Such forms of manpower redistribution are unacceptable in line with the increased unemployment.

At the same time, the interethnic conflicts have caused interrepublic migration which is unprecedented in scale. The number of refugees runs into the hundreds of thousands [6].

Ecological problems also have a serious impact on interrepublic migration. As a consequence of environmental pollution, ecological disasters and natural calamities (the Aral, the areas suffering in the Chernobyl accident, the earthquake in Armenia, the flooding in Bashkiria), ecological refugees have also appeared. The scale of forced migrations for these reasons is as significant as due to the interethnic conflicts. Thus, by 1990, over 500,000 persons had left their permanent residences after the designated events [7].

The unplanned nature of these flows has caused a number of questions of a socioeconomic nature: job placement, housing, medical and consumer services and so forth. Here the problem of employment as a result of migration has been aggravated both in the areas of former residence as well as in the areas moved into. For this reason, a demand has arisen for establishing new migration mechanisms. The old migration policy did not know such problems. In the new migration plan they should hold one of the leading places.

Equally urgent for our days is the problem of unemployment. This has touched all republics and regions of the nation where a constant rise in the number of persons who have lost their job can be observed. The altered constitutional status of the official language has sharply exacerbated the unemployment problem.

Under the altered conditions there must be new forms, methods and directions in the migration policy considering all the complexities accompanying unemployment.

For example, in the interrepublic flows the share of unemployed will not become predominant, since each republic government which has declared its sovereignty bears responsibility for solving the unemployment problems and will restrict the influx of labor resources from without.

A state under the law and a market economy inevitably will eliminate such a social institution as the residence permit. Within the republic (but not between the republics due to linguistic problems, interethnic conflicts and so forth), a person will be able to live and work where he wants, considering not only economic necessity but also the legal opportunity. The desire to move freely across the territory of the republic will also make corrections in migration policy. For this reason, even now it is essential to work out new promising directions and forms of migration policy.

The perestroika processes have also intensified foreign migration (and this must be considered in creating a general plan for domestic migration). Within foreign migration new areas have arisen and some of the previously existing forms have also assumed a mass scale.

Previously, our nation was a closed system and overseas migration was restricted to official trips. Athletic measures, cultural ties, tourism and private trips were restrained by all sorts of legislative enactments, by instructions and regulations. In foreign migration an insignificant portion was made up of such unorganized forms as lifting of citizenship, the inability to return to the nation, the reuniting of families and departure for ethnic reasons.

Under the conditions of a market economy the movements of labor resources will occur more intensely due to contractual relations, contracts and agreements between enterprises, firms and associations both on an interrepublic scale as well as on the basis of a mutual exchange with foreign countries. It must be considered that the sovereign republic states will invite only those workers who in terms of their educational and skill level meet the demands of production.

The intensive development of international relations will also involve a broadening of scientific and economic ties and will deepen contacts in the area of art, athletics, tourism and interpersonal relations. Such forms as inviting scholars to give lectures, private tours of artists, the exchange of students and school pupils, the organizing of olympiads and tournaments without the involvement of Goskomsport [State Committee for Athletics] and so forth will no longer have a sporadic nature.

The importance of foreign migration will grow. This direction in migration policy not only will provide the nation with foreign exchange but will also assist in its accelerated development in various spheres of life and will strengthen foreign contacts.

However, along with the positive aspects in the development of foreign migration, negative ones must also be

noted. Thus, the nation's economic, scientific and spiritual potential will be substantially influenced by the emigration of Soviet citizens to foreign countries. In the second half of the 1980s, the scale of the emigration of the population rose sharply (in 1988-1989, some 330,000 persons left the nation or almost $\frac{1}{2}$ of the total number of persons leaving in 1973-1989. Here the flow of emigres in 1989 was 2.1-fold greater than in 1988 [8-9]).

In the migrants, 80-85 percent are working-age population. This means that the nation is losing hundreds of thousands of skilled workers, specialists, scientists and representatives of the creative intelligentsia. The bringing of USSR domestic legislation into conformity with international legal standards and in particular the adoption of a Law on Free Departure as well as the increased quota for the admission of highly skilled specialists from the USSR by the Western countries presuppose an increased scale in the migration of this contingent. In other words, the problem of the "brain drain" has become exacerbated and this will touch on state interests. The new migration policy should also consider all the migration processes created by perestroika. Here we cannot even speak about the transforming of existing plans since prior to perestroika such directions of migration did not even exist.

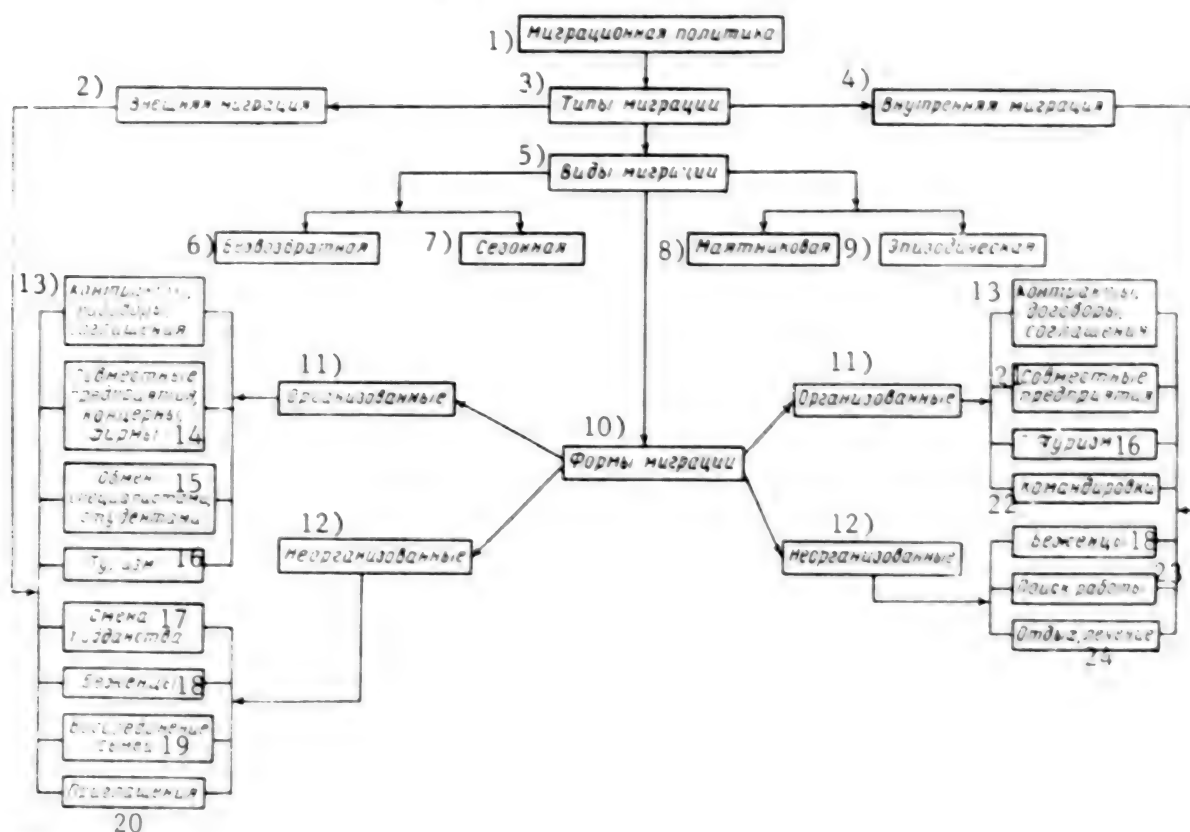
Along with the increased scale of economic migration which under the new conditions holds a priority position, in the nation there has been increased migration for ethnic reasons (Germans, Jews, Armenians and Greeks).

The refugee problem has also been extended to foreign migration. Thus, while in 1985, 500 persons left for West Germany, in 1989, the figure was already 105,000 [10-11]. Such migration causes new problems and has a negative impact upon the nation's labor potential.

There are also negative consequences from immigration of unskilled manpower from the nations of Southeast Asia and which has been caused by a manpower shortage in the nonprestigious areas of production at a number of the nation's industrial enterprises (in the second half of the 1980s, some 90,000 Vietnamese arrived in the USSR and there were proposals for the admission of a large number of Chinese [12]). Obviously, such a significant influx of unskilled manpower will give rise to socioeconomic questions a solution to which must also be provided for in the new migration policy.

As we see, foreign migration under the altered conditions has assumed an equal status with domestic migration and requires not only study but also the elaboration of new migration mechanisms in order to control the flows which up to now have often had a spontaneous nature. The foreign migration processes have not only gained intensive development in our times but are also being realized in new forms and areas. An analogous situation has also arisen in domestic migration. In addition to this, individual areas and forms of previous years are undergoing development and, most importantly, new ones are arising. Here we must abandon the methods previously worked out for realizing domestic migration policy as these have become ineffective.

Basic Components of Migration Policy



Key:

1. Migration policy
2. Foreign migration
3. Types of migration
4. Domestic migration
5. Sorts of migration
6. One-way
7. Seasonal
8. Back and forth
9. Sporadic
10. Forms of migration
11. Organized
12. Unorganized

13. Contracts, treaties, agreements
14. Joint enterprises, concerns, firms
15. Exchange of specialists, students
16. Tourism
17. Change of citizenship
18. Refugees
19. Reuniting of families
20. Invitations
21. Joint enterprises
22. Official trips
23. Search for work
24. Recreation, medical treatment

The diagram proposed by us (see the figure) reflects the dynamic processes occurring both in domestic and foreign migration, and it shows their correlation, interaction and mutual causality. At the same time, the diagram indicates that problems which at first glance are similar (for example, domestic and foreign refugees) require different approaches. The diagram makes it possible to represent the directions and forms of foreign and domestic migration which must be taken into account in creating a new general plan for migration policy under the conditions of perestroika.

Footnote

1. Carried out by the Khabarovsk Institute for Economic Research Under the Far Eastern Department of the

USSR Academy of Sciences according to a method worked out at the Demography Department of the Sociology Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences [2].

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Game Methods in Sociology

915D00081 Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE
ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 12, Dec 90 (signed to
press 23 Oct 90) pp 103-112

[Article by Vyacheslav Sergeyevich Dudchenko, candidate of philosophical sciences and director of the consulting firm Management—Service. He is the author of the monograph "Innovatsionnyye igry" [Innovation Games], Tallinn, 1989; Vladimir Nikolayevich Makarevich, candidate of philosophical sciences and science associate on the Sociological Faculty of Moscow State University. This is the first time they appear in our journal]

Tasks and Purpose of the Innovation Game Method

[Text] An innovation game (ING) is a method of social engineering activity [see 2, 3, 4] by which it is possible to obtain results of three types: a) informative, including ideas, solutions to complex (as well as poorly structured) social problems, plans and programs for realizing plans; b) social, including consolidated groups, teams of leaders and specialists oriented at implementing the decisions and programs worked out by them in the course of the game; c) training—the assimilating of the new work methods by the participants and primarily the effective methods of collective decision-taking.

The decisions taken in the course of the game, as a rule, are more profound and sounder than those worked out by traditional methods. They are marked by innovation, originality, the presence of alternatives, optimality and feasibility. For now, even with good organization, the share of unrealized management decisions reaches 40-50 percent [1, p 186]. The involvement of the leaders in working out the decisions with the aid of games is simultaneously the first step of their introduction.

The game method makes it possible to work through the management decision more profoundly and establish it clearly. The ING is carried out in the form of designing.

The content of the designs is a detailed picture of the desired state of the social system, for example, of an industrial enterprise.

The plan sets the development prospect and is the result of efforts by all the game participants and in the course of the game several groups compete for the best proposals and this naturally improves the quality of the work. The elaboration of the plans still do not guarantee their realization. For introduction of them it is essential to have a special program which is also worked out in the course of the game and contains a description of by what methods the plan will be carried out. The game is termed innovation because it orients the participants at working out new, nonstandard ideas and approaches. However, newness is not an end in itself. Rather something else is important, that is, to find the optimum method for resolving arising difficulties. In the course of the game mental techniques are employed and primarily the so-called techniques of group problem solving based on the principles of systems, situational, activity and innovational approaches. One of the key ideas of the systems approach is that for successfully solving social problems, it is not sufficient to view, for instance, an individual organization or enterprise as an object even in its interaction with others; there should be a completely new analysis of the structure of social reality, having isolated in it, for example, the informational, cultural and sociopsychological structures. The situational approach makes it possible to achieve the active involvement of the participants in solving the problems, as it orients the organizers of the game at an analysis of the actions of each participant and at helping him in situations arising: 1) in the macrosystems (changing the development trends in the economic, political, social, cultural and ecological spheres); 2) in the daily practical activities of the participants themselves; 3) directly during the game. An analysis of the situations arising "here and now" can lead to the greatest benefit. The activity approach requires that each person clearly define his position in the existing situation (on all three levels) and in showing personal activeness, not put the decision of difficult problems off onto the shoulders of others. Such a procedure makes it possible to overcome a person's alienation from the labor process. The innovation approach orients the participants at creating and isolating what is new in each stage of the work.

As was already pointed out, the creating of integrated groups of leaders and specialists who subsequently carry out the general program of actions becomes the result of the innovation game. For achieving this goal the game participants are chosen from representatives of the organizations directly involved in the problem to be solved. In the course of the game a basis is established for mutual understanding and the coordinating of their interests.

Such a goal is achieved by drilling skills in communication and interaction with the aid of carrying out special exercises under the leadership of consultants in the

groups which do not exceed 5-7 persons. The participants in the situational groups, upon returning after the game to their organization, bring back elements of the new relationships. In addition to training, they employ the group work method and the method of intergroup discussion.

And, finally, there is the instructing of the players. One of the main goals of the game is to teach special methods and procedures of orientation in nonstandard situations. This can be achieved in helping to acquire skills of reflection and systems analysis of situations in teaching group methods of work and the ability to interact actively with those around. Instruction is carried out in the course of the work with the organizers proposing methods which have not yet been used by the partners, helping them in mastering these. The game develops a permanent orientation for developing the personality, for increasing creative potential, for improving skills and generally for maximum utilization of one's abilities.

Of course, in the course of the game it is not always possible to achieve the solution to the entire range of problems (it sometimes turns out that it makes no sense to solve the set problems as they are either already in the stage of resolution or are ignored), but the persons constantly study independently in taking responsible and balanced decisions without the aid of the consultants.

The ING method was proposed by V.S. Dudchenko in 1981. By 1990, his group alone had conducted around 70 games in the course of which the tasks were given of working out a strategy for the development of a sector (as well as a city and a region), for converting an organization to cost accounting, for introducing a system for the training and promotion of leaders (on the enterprise level), a general plan for production and economic training (on the level of the State Committee for Public Education) and to organize the activities of the labor collective councils. INGs were held in 12 national economic sectors as well as in party organizations (the CPSU obkom and gorkom), in a city administration, in culture and education.

In working out the procedures, the following scientific-practical areas were employed:

1) Innovatics. The forming of the Soviet school of innovatics specialists is related to the activities of N.I. Lapin who in 1979-1983, headed the work of the seminar "Social Factors of Innovations in Organizations." 2) The method of the organized activity games (OAG) developed by G.P. Shchedrovitskiy. 3) The drilling of group relations following the method of V.S. Lawrence and D. Gordon, the Tavistock School in Great Britain. In its traditions are "gentle" systems analysis, "action research," "developing the commands of managers" and "developing organizations." 4) The method of intense study of foreign languages employing the "psychological immersion" developed by the Bulgarian psychologist, G. Lozanov. In the USSR this has been actively used by

G.A. Kitaygorodskaya and V.V. Petrusinskiy. 5) Sociopsychological training one of the developers of which is considered to be the American psychologist S. Rogers. In our nation the initiative of using it belongs to L.A. Petrovskaya.

Principles in the Organization of Innovation Games

An innovation game is organized in accord with the following principles:

1. The principle of a systems approach consisting in the fact that the game is programmed and organized as an integral system of human activity: the elaboration of decisions, group formation and instruction.

2. Collective responsibility for the organization and results of the game are born equally by the consultants and the clients. The game technicians are not dealers in ready-made formulas and they do not have panaceas against all calamities. They can only provide procedural aid to those who themselves are endeavoring to resolve their own problems and create for this a favorable organizational and psychological situation.

3. A single leader for the game. His priority right in taking decisions consists in the fact that the game technicians do not intervene in the content of the work done by the game participants, however, the arbitrary intervention of the client in the techniques of the game process is also not permitted.

4. The principle of self-programming makes it possible in the course of the game to incorporate new rules and select forms and methods of work. The consultants are concerned with the self-programming at the start and at the end the participants themselves.

5. The principle of self-development is a continuation of the principle of self-programming. Its essence is that the ING as a method, in considering the development of society and the specific features of the concrete tasks, "grows up" for solving problems of ever-greater complexity. Each subsequent game is not like the previous one.

6. The principle of a controlled struggle consists in competition and rivalry in the interaction of the groups. Each prepares its own plan but there can only be one winner.

7. The principle of developing instruction orients the participants not at broadening the volume of knowledge but rather at assimilating, working out and searching for new solutions to problem situations. The consultants see their task not in finding a solution to the problem but rather to teach the players to do this.

In contrast to the traditional system of education which provides a certain minimum of knowledge and then man applies these in practice, instruction in a game is based on an analysis of own practice. The initial flaw of the existing system is that during instruction the pupil or student does not have a notion of specifically what

information and on what level he requires or subsequent activity, in other words, he has still not formed a motive for receiving the information. This explains the low efficiency of lectures (around 5 percent) and the extended period of adaptation for the graduate at the beginning of his labor career.

What can be done for a person to develop a need for new knowledge? Probably the knowledge should be provided at the very moment when difficulties are encountered. In an ING from the very first day the participants are involved in difficult work and on the second day they are given a lecture on how the difficulties encountered by them can be overcome. That is, the scheme of instruction is initially activity and then knowledge. But this knowledge immediately is employed in practice.

The second important aspect is the notion of the norm. Usually an average result is considered normal. However, the task of accelerating social development can be carried out by persons not of average abilities but by talented ones. In the ING a mind set is provided of achieving the maximum possible results and a high level of training. Such an approach in Soviet pedagogics has been realized by the innovative teachers V.F. Shatalov, I.P. Volkov, S.N. Lysenkova and M.I. Shchetinin. In the course of the game, the participants are convinced that they utilize only an insignificant part of their creative potential and learn to realize latent opportunities. This is also aided by the "unfreezing of stereotypes" with 14 hours of intense daily work. Since the people are working on problems which are of interest to them and touch them personally, the customary alienation disappears from their labor and not fatigue but rather exhilaration is felt. The given approach has been reflected in the science worked out by V.V. Kuznetsova concerning the maximum capabilities of man (maxianthropology).

The third important rule is that in the instruction the information should be provided in extra-large amounts, creating an information-saturated environment for the man. The supporters of such a view, in particular V.V. Petrusinskiy, feel that although the traditional educational system is oriented at the perception of 15 bits of information per second by a student (the actual achievements usually do not exceed 2 or 3 bits), the human brain is capable of assimilating 10 million bits without an overload. For this, three conditions are required: 1) the removal of the psychological barriers, that is, the clearing out of the subsensory canal through which the information is assimilated in bypassing consciousness and feelings; 2) the training in suggestive abilities, that is, suggestibility; 3) the technical organization of the flow of information. The latter condition is achieved by technical devices. For example, a Russian-English dictionary is projected on a screen page after page at a rate of several frames a second. After a repetition, a person understands up to 75 percent of the previously unknown words. The techniques of the subsequent work consist in actualization, extracting the existing information from the subconscious and organizing channels through which

it becomes accessible for conscious use. Thus, the traditional scheme of instruction is again turned inside-out as it were: not from the simple to the complex, but rather from the complex to the simple. For instance, a man initially learns how to solve problems effectively and then begins to understand how he does this.

The fourth factor is establishing a personal interest in the work results or motivating. The consultants help each "player" find that aspect which is of personal interest to him and makes it possible to overcome his own difficulties. Precisely involved participation makes it possible to take down psychological barriers and work without fatigue.

Practice has shown that fatigue is a constant accomplice of alienation on the job and if it can be removed then a person gains an increased work efficiency. Incidentally, here problems can also arise. We will call them the "innovation syndrome" which is accompanied by the phenomenon of the "flickering of alienation," that is, a person, being in a situation of choosing the line of further conduct, stands as it were half-way between a creative attitude toward life and mere functioning; he begins to fluctuate and vacillate in both directions.

For conducting the ING as well as a number of other open-type games (primarily organized activity), a number of special techniques is employed: view broadening, problematization, goal-setting, self-determination, reflection, schematization and positional analysis. Let us briefly describe these

View broadening is the abandoning of a rigid professionally-specific view of reality. In its extreme manifestations such a view is called by sociologists "professional cretinism": it prevents a person from fully perceiving reality, adequately assessing a situation and correctly understanding other people. Its most widespread forms are: technocracy or the viewing of people and organizations as "cogs" or parts of a certain mechanism; economism or the absolutizing of economic interests to the detriment of social ones, derigism or bureaucratic utopianism or the exaggerated notion of the possibilities of administrative-command methods and underestimating the opportunities of self-administration; scientism or the absolutizing of the role of science and a research approach in economic management or in the cultural sphere (natural sciences and mathematics are taken as the standard). View broadening is achieved by a clash of the positions of the "players" (in a productive conflict) and a discussion of the problem from the standpoint of "others."

Problematization is the disclosure of real difficulties in human activity and not outside interference but rather inside obstacles which stem, for instance, from unorganized conduct, thoughts or deeds. The basic means of problematization is the search for the deeper reasons lying at the basis of the difficulties.

Goal-setting is the determining of the main goals and for which the game participants assume responsibility for

achieving. Regardless of the seeming simplicity of the assignment, it causes significant difficulties. In the first place, goals sometimes run counter to stereotypes through which a person views his work and these, of course, can replace the goals themselves. Secondly, the choice of the main goal is not always concretized and it either is drowned in general words or is broken down into tasks which do not reflect its content [5, p 9].

Self-determination is the fixing of one's own position in the general space of the game. It is based on individual goals and their correlation to the goals and positions of the other participants. The consultant helps in isolating the elements of self-determination and in assembling them into a system.

Reflection is one of the game techniques based on an analysis of the process, methods and results of the activities of an individual person and the group. A person is able to look at what is happening as if from outside and "see" his own consciousness, his own thinking as well as the consciousness, thinking and actions of other persons. Reflection is a mechanism in

the self-development of a person and it reinforces successful elements and rejects unsuccessful ones.

Schematization. In game techniques, this, like reflection, is given fundamental importance. It is employed as both an auxiliary as well as the basic (independent) method of developing thinking. The method is based on the premise that visual images of thought or real processes represented on paper or on a blackboard are easier to examine (analysis and synthesis), particularly if several persons are involved in the work. Actually, visibility or visualization are a procedure as old as the world. The new feature is that game techniques have established a number of universal schemes applied to a large number of phenomena and possessing strong heuristic potential. Schematization is employed for working out and formulating decisions, views and positions by the game participants.

Positional analysis. The "position" is one of the key concepts in the methodology of activity. By this one understands the place in the structure of activity which prescribes a definite method of seeing (perceiving) reality and definite methods of action. The "position" is close in sense to the concept of a "role," however there are also substantial differences (see Table 1).

Table 1: Relationship of Concepts of "Position" and "Role"

Criteria of Comparison	Position	Role
Programming method	Activity is programmed freely by the subject himself	Programming has an externally set nature
Degree of program flexibility	Activity within one position can be reprogrammed or moved to another position	Role is rigidly linked to preset program
Method of linking with whole	Included in system of activity by accepting personal responsibility for the whole	In the system the linkage with the whole is mediated through the "scenario" or "director"
Levels of activity	Includes all levels (design, logical, technical-procedural and so forth)	Includes only psychological and sociopsychological level
Degree of conformity to subject structure	Reproduces one of the essential functions ("specialization") inactivity	Has random character not always linked with realization of the main functions of activity
Depth of personal involvement	Involves realization of personal values	Little linked with inner world of man, has superficial, imitative nature

In organizing the ING, it is imperative to carry out the following conditions:

1. Participation in the game of a superior level leader (the "first person" in the organization).
2. The game should be conducted not in the ordinary situation for the participants, for example, in an out-of-town hotel (a traveling form of work).
3. Usual duration is no less than 5 and a maximum of 11 days (two 5-day workweeks and in the middle a day off).
4. The workday is at least 14 hours with two breaks for lunch and dinner.
5. It is not permitted to be late for the start of the work or leave ahead of time (the ban on partial participation). This is due to the fact that in the game there is a "psychological immersion" and for this reason at the

very outset there is the complex procedure of "introduction" and those who are late will simply not understand what is going on. On the last day, a group of measures is carried out to "withdraw" from the game and for those who leave early it is possible to have a nervous collapse.

6. The total number of participants in the game is 35-50 people along with the consultants (1 consultant per 7 players).
7. An ordinary day in the game includes the following phases: group work, discussion between groups, and contact under "club conditions." In the last phase, lectures and recreational forms of activity are organized.
8. The size of a group should not be over 9 persons. The number of groups is 3-6.
9. The participants are allocated to the groups evenly, in such a manner that the creative potential of the groups is

approximately equal. The groups are made up considering sex, age, official status and educational level. It is desirable to bring together in one group participants who would conflict between themselves.

10. The stages of the game, if there is no need for a different approach, correspond to the sequence of procedures in the "Techniques of Group Problem-Solving": a) diagnosis of the problem, b) analysis of the situation, c) formulating of the problems, d) determining of goals, e) working out decisions, f) working out problem, g) formulating program for implementing the plan.

Simulation (Professional) Games and Open-Type Games

In chronological terms, simulation games were the predecessors of the open-type games and to which, in particular, an innovation game belongs.

For the first time in our nation a simulation professional game was conducted by M.M. Birshteyn at the Leningrad Industrial Academy in 1932. The game was called "Red Weaver." A game is termed simulation when it makes it possible to investigate a social system by an experiment with its model reproducing the functioning of the system over time. Here they simulate the interaction of the management bodies in various economic situations. Simulation games are an unique device for reproducing processes and reconciling economic interests [6, 7, 8].

The game is organized in the following manner. The participants in the situation proposed by the organizer take definite decisions, simulating the execution of previously assigned roles, in responding simultaneously to the actions of neighbors who are performing different roles. New decisions are taken considering the reactions of the partners. Then the cycle is repeated. As a result, an opportunity is created to see the long-term consequences of their actions. At the conclusion, they analyze and discuss each game stage, the order of the actions of the participants is recreated and the correctness of the decisions taken is assessed from different viewpoints: the individual player, the simulated departments of the organization and the system as a whole. The information is generalized and the chains of causal links are established.

For holding a simulation game it is essential to have extensive technical documentation including: characteristics of the object of simulation, an explanatory note, technical specifications, materials on the problem to be studied, a scenario for holding the game, a description of the game situation, a description of the algorithms for the conduct of the participants, an outline of the game, a manual for the administrator running the game, instructions for the players, a manual on running the game situation, the experiment program, and a report on the experiment. A comparison of simulation and innovation games can be made according to eight criteria (see Table 2).

Table 2: Comparative Characteristics of Simulation and Innovation Games

Comparison Criteria	Simulation Games	Innovation Games
Nature of opposing rules and assigning roles	Rigid (according to the demands of carrying out the rules for playing the roles)	Free allocation, flexible procedure
Method of information support	Requires extensive numerical and other information	Does not require new information (each is acquainted with the problem to be solved)
At what is the game oriented	Oriented at rational actions of participants	Oriented at personal emotional involvement
Ability of game for self-development	Closed to development, has complete form	Open, self-developing
Nature of decisions taken	Correct decisions are known ahead of time and are proposed	Decisions unknown ahead of time
Main function of game	Teaching	Developing
Aimed at developing skills in which situations	In standard situations	In situations with high degree of ambiguity
Type of modeling of situations and systems	Simulation	Representational

Let us again emphasize that in simulation games the participants are involved not with real situations, but rather with models which can be designed by the game technician. But in innovation games only real situations are analyzed.

There are also other forms of open-type games: organized activity games (OAG), design, organized thought, product oriented, practical professional, recreational, "lepton" and others. At present, the most widespread are the organized activity games (OAG) developed under the leadership of G.P. Shchedrovitskiy and arising simultaneously or a bit sooner than the ING [9, 10, 11, 12]. The organization of the OAG and ING has similar features:

the work is conducted in several work groups, each of which later gives its own reports in the discussions. Also widely employed are the methods of view broadening, problematization, goal-setting, self-determination, reflection, schematization and positional analysis.

In truth, a number of distinguishing features can be observed between them. Thus, in the OAG the groups have not a mixed but uniform (specialized) character. For example, if a game is to be conducted on developing the educational system, then the groups are made up for teachers, administrators, students and educationalists. The establishing of communications between the representatives of the different positions ("positioners") is

carried out not within the groups but in the discussions. Moreover, the OAG do not employ special training procedures and the organization of a productive conflict is viewed here as one of the main means of work. In practice, since not all the game designers of the OAG school are capable of organizing the work in a psychologically constructive manner, conflicts occur which can lead to the separating of people and to psychological injuries. In the organizing of the ING, on the contrary, there is a rigid ban on moral and psychological harm. The OAG are oriented not so much at resolving specific problems as they are at developing a methodology, that is, establishing the means for organizing thinking and activity ("mental activity"). Here the ING is to a much greater degree oriented at the interests of the client.

In the course of the OAG, there usually is a significant weeding out of participants who leave the game without being able to fit into the creative process. The work is designed for the best prepared, and the weeding out is planned by the very methods of the game. In an ING the organizers proceed from the view that all the people are equally gifted and they merely need help in disclosing hidden talents. The departure of even one person is an extraordinary event. In an OAG, all the work is conducted in an artificial, methodological language the mastery of which for beginners is almost the main content of the work. In the ING, artificial languages in relations with the client are not employed and this makes it possible to focus the efforts of the participants directly on solving their problems. Methodologists call OAG a "megamachine for mental activity." The ING is a living organization of people resolving their own particular problems.

Design games in the sphere of culture were first organized by I.V. Zhezhko [13]. Their specific feature is in accentuating the design aspect of game engineering activities. And although these games do not have any clearly expressed aim at obtaining fundamentally new results, they sometimes succeed in doing this. For example, a result of the Volgograd game (1985) and the game in Naberezhnyye Chelny (1986) was the working out of designs for new leisure centers and an aesthetic education center of a completely new type.

The organized thought game (OTG) was developed by O.S. Anisimov [14]. This helps in forming a high level of mental activity and instills the ability to construct concepts, a system of criteria and general plans of activity. The OTG in terms of the principles of their organization stand close to the OAG. The difference is in the training and thought technique orientation of the OTG. The group of O.S. Anisimov has worked out a so-called methodological alphabet of 20-30 permanent schemes for organizing activity and thinking and these make it possible to describe a large number of new situations and are one of the possible languages for social designing.

The method of product oriented games was worked out by the group of V.A. Zargarov (Novosibirsk). The main accent here is not so much on "team formation" and

instruction as it is on the end result in the form of a detailedly worked out social plan in the area of management activity. A characteristic feature is the approximately equal numerical balance of game technicians and clients, 15 persons each. The games have been conducted within the system of the Ministry of Power, with the rectors of VUZes and others.

The practical professional games proposed by A.I. Prigozhin [15] have similar traits with the ING. It is possible to notice an interesting particular feature in the series holding of the games: in one collective, for example, in the first game they summed up the results of a thorough diagnosis of organizational problems while the second was devoted to working out decisions.

Games under the name of "recreational" have been developed by Estonian specialists. The contingent of participants is high ranking leaders. A specific feature of the method is the short working sessions of 2 or 3 hours over 3-7 days. The participants spend their remaining time in athletic games, in fishing and so forth. Sometimes it turns out that such a method is just as productive as working at maximum pitch. But here also there must be a high level of collective work and "teamwork."

An interesting method using television has been developed by Kiev game designers. Viewers observed the work of the game collective and can request to participate in the next round. Authors of original ideas are invited to the TV studio and in turn appear before the viewers.

The maximum intensity in a game is probably reached in the Sverdlovsk team under the leadership of B.Ye. Zolotov [16]. Although the authors call their system a practical method for the restructuring of leisure activity, it would be more correct to call it a "lepton" game. This is directed at having a person master his own bioenergy as well as methods of working with "lepton doubles." Suffice it to say that the participants over a period of 2 weeks virtually do not sleep, replenishing their strength by some other method, they work all the time, taking breaks only to eat.

In addition to the simulation and open games, recently a class of games has been formed of the "semiopen" or mixed type. (Professional games have generally shown a trend to evolving toward evermore independent programming of the work rules by the participants and the coming closer to real situations, while open games have moved toward ever-greater flexibility and openness.)

Among the game activities of the semiopen type, one can put the multiday (up to 40 days) manager schools organized by V.K. Tarasov [4, 17, 19]. There the nature of the behavior of the participants was largely determined by themselves while there was also the simulating of political processes. A characteristic feature can be considered the artificial creation of a situation when the participants, that is the managers, act not as partners but rather as rivals.

An interesting game system of the mixed type has been worked out by Yu.D. Krasovskiy [18]. Here the elements of openness can be considered the fact that the work is oriented at the unknown (there is no preset model for the decision) and is aimed at the forecasting of the immediate prospects of the enterprise.

In conclusion, the authors would like to emphasize that recently there has been an avalanching unprofessional, slap-dash approach to organizing game designing. As a result, the economic leaders have developed a negative notion about the entire area. The task of the article is to shatter the formed stereotype and show what possibilities reside in game methods.

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Criteria in Assessing Quality of GPE Methods

915D0008J Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE
ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 12, Dec 90 (signed to
press 23 Oct 90) pp 112-115

[The authors work in the Laboratory for Labor Sociology and Psychology at the Scientific Research Institute for

Precision Technology Under the USSR Ministry of Electronics Industry. Vera Grigoryevna Avramenko is a candidate of psychological sciences and psychologist. This is the first time she appears in our journal. Tatyana Ivanovna Bagayeva is a laboratory chief. Our journal has published her article "Should Leaders Be Elected?" (No 1, 1990)]

[Text] The basis for the scientific approach to the questions of the recruitment and placement of personnel is forecasting the efficiency of professional activity. The forecast is constructed in accord with the qualities of the individual to the requirements of the model of an optimum leader or specialist [1, 2]. These characteristics can be established both in the judgments of the principal himself as well as in the judgments of others about him. In the former instance one uses various personality questionnaires, "polar profile" blanks and so forth. These methods are widely known and have been well worked out.

As for the methods of group personality evaluation (GPE), here one observes a diversity of approaches [3-10]. The reasons for this are in the absence of widely known and elaborated procedures, the seeming simplicity and, most importantly, the lack of a criterion for evaluating the quality of the specific method.

In actuality, in the GPE method only the collection of information is simple. The use of this poses a number of problems [10] for the researcher and the correct processing of the data is labor intensive and this makes very problematic the use of the method without computers.

On the basis of information concerning the professional and personal qualities of the person in question, personnel shifts can be carried out and for this reason the responsibility of the specialist for the quality of information is very great. Without any doubt the measure of the quality of information is the accuracy of the forecast made based on it. However, the practical use of this criterion, particularly in the stage of working out the method, has been difficult due to the extended period which precedes the confirmation of the forecast.

The constant employment of the GPE methods has led us to the necessity of proposing an intermediate criterion for assessing the quality of information obtained on their basis. This has made it possible to work out an entire series of models for forecasting the success of professional activity and the adequacy of these models is sufficiently high and in a number of instances reaches a maximum ($\rho_k = 1$).

The task of the GPE methods is to record the externally manifested traits of the individual. For this reason as the intermediate criterion for assessing the quality of the method we have used the noncontradictory characteristics of the individual by different groups of experts. The noncontradictoriness of characteristics means that they should not have statistically significant opposing assessments of the same quality. The groups of experts, depending upon the nature of their interaction with the

person being evaluated, can point to external manifestations of different qualities. But no matter how strongly the nature of their interaction with the person being evaluated differs, situations should not arise when, for example, one group characterizes the individual as outward-going and another as a closed-off person.

What demands should the methods satisfy in order to conform to this criterion?

As is known, the quality of information rises in eliminating the effect of the shifting of scales and the "Gallo effect" [6]. For resolving this problem, we have employed only standardized evaluations [11] and feel that the experts have noted the external manifestation of a certain quality, if its mean standardized value has a statistically significant deviation from zero. The remaining qualities are not considered established, they are not included in the characteristics and are not interpreted.

In employing the GPE methods, an important question is the choice of the optimum number of experts. Many authors, in examining this problem, have named a varying number of experts which, in their opinion, is the optimum including 5-7 [4, 12], 15-20 [8] and 20-25 [13].

The authors set as optimum a definite, fixed number of experts and as this depends upon several factors it is a variable amount. Practice indicates that with over 25 persons as experts, no additional information is obtained while 5-7 persons is the minimum number of experts for obtaining information on the qualities of the individual. Our approach makes it possible to determine the optimum number of experts for each specific instance.

Depending upon the goal, the researcher decides how detailed the characteristics should be which he is to compile, that is, how many qualities should have a statistically valid assessment. A sociologist might be interested in the following: 1) the presence or absence of certain qualities; 2) the most vivid personality traits. As is known, the number of significant qualities rises with a decline in the confidence interval and this, in turn, declines with an increase in the number of experts or an increase in the congruity of their evaluations. Thus, a uniform result can be achieved both by increasing the number of experts or with their corresponding selection.

The problem of selecting the experts has been widely discussed in the literature. A number of demands placed on the experts has been proposed and the main one is the close and extended interaction with the subject being evaluated. This causes no doubt. But the question of the nature of the interaction between the experts and the subject remains disputed. A majority of authors insists on the necessity of a three-level evaluation when the expert group includes experts "from above," "from the side" and "from below" [4, 14-17]. We share the viewpoint of V.V. Shcherbina who has criticized such an approach [10]. As a result of analyzing a broad range of experimental data, we are convinced that bringing together into a single evaluation group experts of varying

levels having a varying role interaction with the subject being evaluated leads to an increase in the spread of evaluations. This impedes disclosing the significant personality traits of the person being evaluated.

Which evaluation should be preferred depends upon the goals of the specific research. In constructing the models for forecasting the success of professional activity,¹ experts "from above" provided the assessment of effectiveness while experts "from below" evaluated the level of expression of the various qualities of the leaders and specialists. The assessment of effectiveness "from above" is of a principled nature. In examining the professional and personal qualities we have taken up the assessment "from below" as this is the most informative and feasible.

In our research the experts could refuse to evaluate certain qualities. The largest number of refusals was among the experts "from above" and "from the side." Moreover, the agreement of their evaluations was significantly less than among the experts "from below." These shortcomings could be compensated for by increasing the number of experts but under real conditions their number is usually limited.

In using an evaluation "from below," it is important to observe the following condition: the experts should be directly subordinate to the leader being evaluated. An evaluation skipping a level is not permitted, as it is not only poorly informed but also depends upon the evaluation of the immediate leader. For example, in the course of the research workers were proposed to evaluate the professional and personal qualities of their foreman or shop chief. In evaluating the foremen there were extremely few refusals, although the instructions permitted this; for the shop chief of the 170 persons polled, only 56 could provide an evaluation but their evaluations showed a broad spread.

The differences between the rating of the shop chief and the foreman were statistically insignificant. This means that in those brigades where the foreman was given a high rating, the shop chief also received a high evaluation and where the rating of the foreman was low, the evaluation of the shop chief was also low. We viewed the rating as the mean of the "rough" estimates of all the experts. It became a good indicator of the attitude of the experts toward the person being evaluated. Extensive material on rating for the various groups made it possible to calculate a standard of a "good," "average" and "poor" attitude of the collective toward the leader.

In combining the expert evaluations, the rating could not perform the role of the function of a comparable indicator of attitude. This was caused by the fact that the rating of the individual in different expert groups showed substantial differences. For providing compatibility of the estimates, it was essential to observe a precise proportion of experts "from below," "from above" and "from the side" in each group and this is absolutely unrealistic.

Thus, the traditional three-level evaluation leads to a significant loss of information both in an obvious (a reduction in the number of statistically significant traits) and in a latent form (analysis on the basis of ratings).

Another part of the problem of selecting the experts is their competence.

In a number of instances, special demands are made on the experts (educational level, specialty, age and so forth) [12, 13]. We feel that such and such an approach is farfetched as the competence of the experts depends much more upon other factors, the main one being the varying understanding of the qualities presented for evaluation. This is the most complex aspect of the competence problem. Many researchers have found a way out in drawing up a "breakdown" where in detail, with examples and explanations, they describe each quality with a breakdown by scale [4, 8, 15, 17, 18]. However, in practice we have been convinced that such an approach does not solve the problem of the varying understanding by the experts of the qualities proposed in the list.

The use of bipolar characteristics to a certain degree approaches this goal. The opposite pole of the construct orients the expert to that shading of the personality adjective which is important for the research. In working with the GPE method, we have paid attention that the experts do not make differences between certain characteristics. And although there are many ways for compiling the lists of qualities, they all do not consider this particular feature.

We have analyzed some of them [9, 16] with the aid of the method realized in the Thesal Program [19]. It turned out that from 17 to 32 qualities contained in these lists describe from 3 to 8 personality traits; the qualities united by us into a single group are evaluated by the experts virtually in the same manner. In order to check this out, we incorporated in the list a number of constructs close in meaning (according to the Thesal evaluation), putting them in different parts of the list.

In one group we put such constructs:

neat—negligent
punctilious—sloppy
and
conscientious—irresponsible
industrious—lazy

Such an association is not apparent. Nevertheless, of the 132 evaluations for each of these qualities (12 experts evaluated 11 persons) within each group statistically significant differences were not obtained even once between the evaluations and in 40 percent of the cases they did not differ at all.

Considering this, in compiling the list we (using the extensive thesaurus of Thesal with 1,650 personality adjectives), we duplicated each quality by similar constructs and these in processing the results were unified into a single group. This made it possible to raise the quality of the obtained information.

The problems of the recruitment and placement of leading personnel in the work of many sociopsychological services are key and for this reason the GPE method for the working specialist is an irreplaceable tool. The described procedures make it possible, in our view, to obtain reliable and uniform information on the qualities of the person being evaluated. This is particularly important in forecasting the success of professional activities, where the quality of the forecast is determined by the information obtained using the GPE method.

Footnote

1. Since 1986, our laboratory with the aid of the GPE method has constructed eight models for the effective activities of leaders and specialists. Over 600 experts have been questioned in the process of working them out.

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Publication Data

915D0008L Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 12, Dec 90 (signed to press 23 Oct 90) pp 1-2

English title: SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

Russian title: SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA

Editor: A.V. Dmitriyev

Publishing house: Nauka

Place of publication: Moscow

Date of publication: December 1990

Signed to press: 23 October 1990

Copies: 17,042

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